FBIS DAILY REPORT

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JOINT PLENUM DECISION ON LIVING STANDARD

AU161210 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Feb 83 p 1, 4

[Decision adopted at a joint session of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Fatherland Front National Council, and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union held on 11 and 12 February 1983 at the Lyudmila Zhivkova Palace of Culture in Sofia]

[Text] We have celebrated the 10th anniversary of the 1972 December plenum of the BCP Central Committee, which adopted a complex, long-term program on improving the people's living standard. Worked out and consistently implemented under Comrade Todor Zhivkov's leadership, the program represents a historic achievement of the BCP's social policy inspired by the April plenum, in the stage of building a developed socialist society in our country. The party slogan "Everything for the sake of man, everything to the benefit of man!" is being implemented in specific deeds and in constantly improving the material and intellectual prosperity of our people.

A successful implementation of the December program and its systematic further expansion has exerted and continues to exert a tremendously positive impact upon the entire economic, political, social, and ideological life in our country. An all-round satisfaction of the working people's steadily growing needs contributes to the universal and harmonious development of the socialist individual and to the people's well-being.

The correct and far-sighted policy of the BCP, the people's creative and selfless efforts, and our country's active participation in socialist economic integration -- but above all, our comprehensive cooperation and drawing closer together with the Soviet Union -- all these factors have decisively contributed to the successful implementation of the December program within the last 10 years.

As was pointed out in the accountability report to the 12th party congress, we have succeeded within the last decade in building up a second, new Bulgaria. Progressive changes were implemented during this decade in the production structure, as well as in perfecting production relations, and our country's national income increased 1.8 times, while labor productivity almost doubled, and the basic funds increased more than twice. Our country's foreign trade volume increased several times. These achievements permitted us successfully to fulfill the December program as regards both the quantitative and the qualitative factors.

The population's real incomes increased by approximately 50 percent. The average amount of the workers wages increased from 125 leva in 1972 to 197 leva in 1982. While pensions increased from 38 to 79 leva within the same period. The minimum workers wages increased from 60 to 100 leva during the aforementioned period. Public consumption funds increased from 2,800,000,000 to 6,525,000,000 leva during the same period.

The transition to the 5-day working week was a considerable social achievement introduced during the period under review.

The results achieved in solving housing problems were also satisfactory. A total of 650,000 new housing units were built during the period under review, which helped to improve housing conditions for over 2 million people.

The system of all-round social services is also successfully developing and steadily improving. During the period under review culture and the arts have exerted a beneficial impact upon the many-sided and harmonious development of the individual in a mature socialist society. The educational system was raised to a higher level and we are gradually proceeding toward the introduction of the new, uniform, polytechnical secondary school. The organization of a trade and daily services network in work places was an important achievement for the workers class. The health services network and the transportation system services for the population have also improved.

Our domestic market is better supplied and more stable today. Per capita retail turnover has increased by 62 percent. Qualitative and quantitative achievements is satisfying the people's needs for basic consumer goods have considerably improved. The per capita consumption of meat and meat products has increased from 49 kilograms in 1972 to 67 kilograms in 1982. The per capita consumption of milk and milk products has increased from 165 liters to 206 liters during the same period, while the per capita consumption of eggs has increased from 126 to 214 units, the per capita consumption of sugar and sugar products has increased from 31.6 to 36.5 kg. during the same period, the per capita consumption of vegetables and fruit has increased 201 to 227 kilograms during the same period. The supplying of the population with radio sets, television sets, electrical household appliances, such as washing machines and refrigerators, has improved as well.

The people's working, political, and social activities have also increased. The socialist way of life has further asserted itself. Labor, as the core of this way of life has increasingly become a main characteristic of the new man, as well as a field for the implementation and development of his positive qualities and talents. Socialist consciousness is improving and the faith of working people in their country's present and future is also being consolidated. The ideological and sociopolitical unity of the people and their cohesion around the party's general April plenum line have strengthened even more. Bulgaria's international prestige and the international prestige of the BCP have been even more enhanced.

The December program was implemented under the conditions of a complicated international situation, under the conditions of a profound and acute crisis in the capitalist world. Along with this, we had to overcome the results of unfavorable climatic conditions and natural disasters. Difficulties of a subjective nature also existed. During certain years of the Sixth and Seventh 5-Year Plan period the funds for consumer goods were increasing more slowly than the people's purchasing power. The envisaged results in improving the quality of the trade network, health centers, transportation, administrative, legal, and other kinds of services were not always achieved.

Despite these shortcomings and difficulties which existed during the period under review the party constantly enhanced the ways of achieving the implementation of the December program by new approaches and means. As a result, a considerable improvement of the people's living standard was ensured. This is an essential confirmation of the vital strength of our political and social system, the effectiveness of Bulgaria's international relations, the skill of the BCP and its Central Committee promptly to uncover and resolve the ripening problems.

As for the implementation of the December program during the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and for the period up to 1990, the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress will be of great importance. The same is true of the new theoretical elaborations and practical approaches contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's post-congress works and in the "Basic Tenets of the Party Concept for the New Labor Code," worked out by him, which enriched the social program with qualitatively new ideas and tenets.

Evaluating the great successes achieved during the period under review in implementing the December program, the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] Standing Committee, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Fatherland Front National Council, and the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union [DKMS] Central Committee have adopted the following decision.:

1. The further implementation of the December program for improving the people's living standard must take place in conformity with the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, with the theoretical tenets and practical approaches contained in the remarkable new elaborations worked out by Comrade Todor Zhivkov following the congress. The line of a complex and higher-quality level must be promoted also in the future in connection with constantly satisfying the growing material, intellectual, and social needs of our population, as a prerequisite for a multifaceted and harmonious development of the socialist individual, for a full development of this individual in life.

In working out the counterplans and their implementation, and in the comprehensive activities of all national economic spheres and branches, the guiding line should be to fully satisfy the needs of the population as regards both the quality and quantity of goods.

2. During the Eighth 5-Year Plan period and in the period up to 1990 the systematic increase of the people's real incomes should be systematically pursued. The workers wages should be assigned a central role in determining these incomes and wages should be paid according to the quantity and quality of the labor invested by the working people.

As early as the current 5-year plan period, according to the obtaining and insuring of necessary means, the minimum contract and regular salaries [tarifni i shtatni zaplati] should increase to 120 leva, while the initial salary of specialists with degrees from higher educational institutions should increase to 170 leva and the salary of specialists who have graduated from secondary educational institutions should amount to 145 leva. At the same time the correlation between contract and regular salaries should be gradually improved.

The workers wages must continue to increase also through the increase of social consumption funds, which should proceed in full conformity with the growth of the national income. The participation of economic organizations in compiling and increasing these funds should be intensified. Effectiveness in the distribution and use of the social consumption funds should be decisively increased.

The system of indemnities in the event of temporary inability to work should be perfected. Under the present 5-year plan period the lowest monthly pension amounts to 50 leva, while during the following 5-year plan period -- they will amount to half of the minimum working wages. We must pursue the establishment of conditions for the active participation of pensioners in the working process. Social assistance to old people who need such assistance should be improved.

3. Systematic care should be devoted to the development and consolidation of the family as the basic cell or our society. The necessary material and intellectual prerequisites for the increase of the birth rate and for further improving child-care conditions should be created in the coming years. Comprehensive measures should be applied in this connection, aimed at a more expanded solution of the problems of families, women, mothers, and children. There should be a gradual introduction of the 3-year paid leave of absence for working mothers and the question of the full integration of children in nursery schools and kindergartens should be implemented. Conditions in all kinds of boarding and day schools for children and young people should be improved. Monthly children's allowances should be determined in relation to the incomes of each family member.

4. There should be closer coordination between the people's purchasing power on the one hand and the required goods and services on the other. In the coming years the rate of increase of available consumer goods must exceed the rate of increase of the people's purchasing power. The range of goods and the improvements in its structure must be attuned to the changing needs of the working people. Active market research studies must be undertaken, with a view to influencing consumption so that it is scientifically founded and efficient.

It must be the primary duty of each economic organization and workers collective and the cause of every individual worker to produce large quantities of more varied and higher quality goods. The opportunities of consumer goods production must be better used by further developing a system of self-sufficiency and by developing the auxiliary farms, workshops for consumer goods and all the activities connected with these branches.

An important prerequisite for a qualitative improvement in the structure of consumer goods funds, is to promptly overcome the shortage of consumer goods which are in public demand and to expand the production of luxury foodstuffs and consumer goods.

It is necessary to ensure the constant innovation of production in the consumer goods sector and to update these goods according to the highest world standards on the basis of a more thorough research and adaptation to the people's needs.

The contractual system between production and trade organizations must be perfected on the basis of their counterplans and the impact of trade upon production must be intensified.

The relative share of imported goods in the total volume of consumer goods must be increased. The exchange of goods with socialist countries must constantly increase and technical production-sharing with foreign trade organizations and companies must constantly increase.

5. Consumer demand for various public services must be better satified in the coming years.

Public trade services must considerably improve. Forms and methods of trade that will make it possible for the public to purchase the goods they require with a minimum waste of time must be introduced. The self-service system must be expanded and consolidated, large furniture stores, department stores, and supermarkets must be established, etc. Trade and everyday services for workers in enterprises should be improved.

There must be a drastic change in the development of everyday services. They must provide on a norm basis, in accordance with the functional category of conurbation system involved. Such activities should include all industrial enterprises, agro-industrial complexes and building organizations. The question of the production and delivery and spare parts for household appliances is a very urgent one and it demands an early solution.

In order to expand public services it is recommended that pensioners, students and housewives on a large scale, must be involved and also workers and specialists in their free time. All conurbation systems should organize special offices for recruiting such citizens.

A comprehensive scientific system for the rational nutrition of the population should be organized. Special care is necessary for the development of workers and students public catering canteens. Specific measures must be adopted to expand dietetic, prophylactic, and vegetarian catering networks.

The quality of public transportation services must be improved.

The Administrative and legal services must be further perfected by locating them as close as possible to work places and to the places of residence of the citizens and by taking into consideration the working hours of the citizens.

Cultural standards must also be decisively improved in the sector of public services. The polite behavior and good manners of those engaged in public services must become one of the basic criteria in evaluating the activities of organizations in the public services sector.

Conditions must be created for the more rapid development and improvement of recreation facilities for the working people. A basic principle in improving the system of distribution of passes for accomodation in reaction and rest homes should be the contribution of the workers collective and of the individual worker to the creation of more and better material and intellectual benefits. Priority should be given to the rest and recreation needs of workers who perform heavy manual work under conditions that are likely to affect their health. Students and families with young children should be given more opportunities for rest and recreation. Within the conurbation systems the most favorable conditions should be provided for the use of available facilities for public catering, recreation, rest, sports, and tourism, regardless of the respective conurbation system's departmental subordination.

6. Special care must be devoted to better housing conditions for the public. During the current 5-year plan period and up to 1990 a total of 850,000 new housing units are planned to be built. Priority should be given to housing problems in the capital and in a number of other large cities.

A policy of increasing social effectiveness in the construction of new housing units, with a view to improving housing conditions for the most needy families, must be implemented and the entire building of new residential areas must be planned.

In settling the housing problem the people's councils, ministries, and departments should be actively involved, and the same applies to the workers collectives, who should devote considerable financial means and efforts to the construction of more housing units in order to satisfy the needs of their members.

The system of allocation, and sale of newly built housing units should be improved by decisively enhancing the role of social organizations and public control.

An important task of the people's councils, Fatherland Front organizations, and of individual citizens must be the preservation, maintenance, and beautification of the newly built housing units.

7. The social and economic effectiveness of the health services network should considerably improve. The public health services must even more efficiently contribute to improving our nation's vital strength, and our people's working capacity and creative longevity.

The preservation and improvement of man's health and of working capacity must be implemented on the basis of mass physical culture activities, sports, rest, and tourism on the basis of drastically improving the system of general preventive medicine, as well as on the basis of improving the effectiveness of diagnostic and therapeutic methods. Particular attention must be paid to overcoming the causes of disease and to the reduction of risk factors in the working environment. The public preventive medicine network must expand.

Specific measures should be adopted to locate the health centers and health services closer to work places. Further care must be devoted to improving health services for agricultural workers.

Preventive medicine and medical care for children, pregnant women, and mothers must be raised to the level of contemporary achievements in medical science.

8. All necessary conditions must be created for implementing the reorganization of the educational system as a basic factor in the development of the creative talents of the individual and in the nation's intellectual development.

The qualifications of the executive cadres should be constantly improved by updating them in accordance with the requirements of scientific technical progress.

9. Cultural development must be even more actively and fully used to enrich and satisfy the population's intellectual needs, for the consolidation of the socialist way of life.

Our national cultural heritage should be further expanded in the future, by adding high quality artistic works to it.

Cultural activities must be even more actively devoted to the practical implementation of the program for the esthetic education of our people. There must be an increase in the role of culture and the arts in making the working people's recreation hours more beautiful and more meaningful.

10. A decisive improvement in the quality of all activities, production processes and services -- this must become the general task of our further socioeconomic and intellectual development the implementation of which is of tremendous political, ideological, economic, and social importance for every workers collective and for all working people.

This task must be implemented in an all-round manner and throughout all stages of the production process -- starting with the planning and application of the scientific-technical achievements, up to the determination of prices and workers salaries and to the sale of what is produced. The struggle for high quality must be combined with a thrifty use of raw materials, fuel, and energy, with the most efficient use of manpower, and of the labor performed by equipment and machines. The production of poor quality goods and services must be considered as an act of antisocial behavior.

11. Today more than ever it is necessary in each economic organization and in each workers' collective to decisively consolidate socialist discipline -- working, planning, financial, and technological discipline -- it is necessary to wage a struggle against any manifestation of laxity, irresponsibility, lack of organization or poor management.

Along with this we must display irreconcilability to consumers' attitudes, to anyone who would like to obtain more from and give less to society. We must become truly aware of the fact that we can live better, if we work better, if we create more material and intellectual benefits for all.

12. The further comprehensive implementation of the December program for the improvement of the people's living standard requires the entire political, organizational, and ideological work of the BCP and the BZNS, the social, mass, and economic organizations to concentrate on harnessing the people's energies and creative efforts in order to bring about a dynamic and effective development of our economy, our country's even more advantageous participation in the international division of labor, its greater involvement in socialist economic integration, and the intensification of our all-round cooperation and drawing closer together with the Soviet Union -- a real factor in further building the socialist society in Bulgaria.

The BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the BZNS Standing Committee, the Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions, and the Central Committee of the DKMS appeal to all Communists, United Agrarians, and nonparty citizens, to all people who are engaged in manual and intellectual labor in towns and villages, and to all young boys and girls, to work even more actively and enthusiastically to increase the intensification of social production, to innovate its material facilities on the basis of advanced technology and of advanced technical equipment, and to perfect the structure of our social production, so that social labor productivity may grow and a direct link be ensured between social production and the people's living standard, which must also depend on the results of work. Each and every one of us is called upon to make his individual contribution to the decisive implementation of the party slogan "Discipline and quality, quality and discipline!" for the further implementation of the December program, aimed at the constant improvement of the people's material and cultural prosperity.

12 February 1983

USSR MARSHAL KULIKOV ARRIVES IN SOFIA 15 FEBRUARY

AU151500 Sofia BTA in English 1450 GMT 15 Feb 83

[Text] Sofia, Feb 15 (BTA) -- Today Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the member-states of the Warsaw Treaty arrived on a working visit here.

At the airport of Sofia Marshal Viktor Kulikov was welcomed by the member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of national defence, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, by the chief of department "military administrative" with the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Col General Velko Palin, by the chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, Col General Atanas Semerdzhiev, by the chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, Col General Kiril Kosev, by deputy ministers, generals and officers of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Meets Zhivkov, Generals; Departs 16 Feb

AU161415 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

They discussed questions of cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Army and the armies of the other fraternal countries in the light of the results of the work of the Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of the Ministers of Defence of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

Present at the meeting was Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of national defence. Colonel General Vladimir Yakushin, representative of the commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states with the Bulgarian People's Army, also was present at the meeting.

Marshal Viktor Kulikov, who paid a two-day working visit here, left the country today.

REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS NOTED

LD171141 Prague CTK in English 1047 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Washington -- [no dateline received] U.S. President Ronald Reagan announced at a press conference here last night that he had asked the Congress to approve urgent measures for a partial limitation of the present unemployment and insurance of new working opportunities. Dealing with the foreign policy, the President again defended the so-called zero option, and stressed that a refusal of the West German Government to deploy American medium-range missiles on the West German territory would be a "step backwards." He confirmed that the command of the American Army had sent espionage AWACS planes to Egypt to take part in provocative military manoeuvres near the Libyan territory.

PRC ARTICLE SHOWS 'HOSTILE ATTITUDE' TO SRV

AU161217 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Feb 83 p 7

["ZR"-signed Beijing dispatch: "The Peculiar Practices of the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY; It Is Spreading Appeals for Overthrowing the Government of a State With Which Beijing Maintains Diplomatic Contacts"]

[Text] Beijing -- This Friday the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY published extensive material signed by Vietnamese emigre Hoang Van Hoan, who is calling for an overthrow of the Vietnamese Government. The material, in the form of a "Letter to Vietnamese Compatriots," does not substantially differ from similar slanderous material addressed to the SRV representatives which certain circles in Beijing have been disseminating for quite some time.

According to foreign reporters, we have here one of the most coarsely formulated anti-Vietnamese articles to have appeared in the Chinese press in the last few months. The fact that it was published shortly after the China visit of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz can be mere coincidence, although the opposite seems more probable. Recently the Chinese press and radio stated more than once that "in matters of Indochina" both China and the United States have "the same opinions."

The foreign commentaries also note the Vietnamese emigre's appeal was published by the official government press agency of a country entertaining official diplomatic contacts [styky] with the SRV. It is also not without interest that the emigre's appeal was published in China prior to the fourth anniversary of the armed invasion of the SRV by Chinese troops on 17 February 1979. As a result of the attack, 600,000 Chinese soldiers perished at that time, compared with 50,000 SRV citizens; 320 communities were destroyed, as were 600,000 square meters of city housing areas; 45,000 rural homes; 735 elementary schools and 691 kindergartens; 428 medical care facilities; 24 district hospitals; 38 forestry enterprises, and so forth -- all causing great damage to the Vietnamese economy.

The NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY and the newspaper PEOPLE'S DAILY also published on Friday two similar items dealing with the situation in Indochina. All these materials show that certain Chinese circles continue to harbor a hostile attitude toward the SRV.

DEFENSE MINISTER WRITES ON THREAT TO PEACE

AU140720 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Army Gen Martin Dzur, CPCZ Central Committee member and CSSR minister of national defense: "The Threat to the Nations of Europe"]

[Text] In his New Year's speech, Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, emphasized that 1982, the year just past, had been neither easy nor simple.

In the sphere of international relations its features had been determined by the continuing encounter of two conflicting trends and approaches toward resolving the fundamental problem -- to ensure peaceful conditions for the life and work of the present as well as future generations.

At sharp variance with the popular masses' aspirations for a peaceful life, the aggressive imperialist circles, headed by the U.S. military-industrial complex, have not ceased escalating the feverish arms buildup and fanning dangerous crises and armed conflicts in various parts of the world. It is their fault that the disarmament negotiations in Geneva and Vienna are stagnating and that the process of political and military detente is seriously disrupted.

The economic and psychological warfare against the countries of the socialist community and the war preparations of the North Atlantic Pact have reached an unprecedented extent. The U.S. Government has not given up its endeavor to achieve military-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union as an instrument for employing the policy — already doomed to failure many times in history -- of acting "from a position of strength." President Ronald Reagan has even declared a "crusade" against communism and social progress in the world.

The Peace Program for the Eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, which other socialist countries also regard as their own, sharply contrasts with this militarist line of the West. This peace strategy has been specified in detail in a number of constructive proposals as well as in unilateral pledges of the Soviet Government in the sphere of relaxing military tension. The speech by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Yuriy Andropov, delivered on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, also provided proof of the unswerving endeavor to improve the current international situation, particularly as regards USSR-U.S. relations.

The Czechoslovak people highly value and actively support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, its lasting endeavor to maintain peace and revive the process of international detente. They express their full agreement with the peace proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states, adopted at the session of its Political Consultative Committee in Prague on 5 January 1983.

Last year's international developments naturally lead one to ponder why the aspirations of the majority of people on our planet have not been transformed into concrete peace accords and common steps by interested states and military groupings, why the solution of these issues has been artificially protracted and more than once even knowingly thwarted. In all cases the answer boils down to this: The main cause is the unrealistic position of the United States and its NATO partners on all world problems, the unwillingness to subordinate the objectives and methods of its policy to the interests of nations and demands of the current era. This is fully confirmed by the conclusion of the 26th Congress of the Soviet Communists, which says that "...adventurism and the determination to gamble with mankind's vital interests to achieve their downright selfish aims is particularly markedly displayed in the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles."

The reactionary essence of imperialism's current policy is reflected in the new military strategy of "direct confrontation" on a global and regional scale. Its content proves that the White House and the Pentagon have embarked on the path of a dangerous escalation of the hitherto applicable strategy of a so-called realistic deterrent.

In Nuclear War There Can Be No Victors

According to a statement made by U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger, the main objective of the United States is to achieve an "absolute and indisputable" military superiority over the countries of the socialist community and restore U.S. hegemony in the world.

By this course it wants to proceed more actively against the Soviet Union and its allies and assert imperialist interests in various parts of the world.

In accordance with this strategy, U.S. political and military representatives have been proclaiming that the objective of their efforts is to carry out the first nuclear strike against the USSR and its allies, which should assure victory while maintaining the longest possible integrity of own territory. Along these lines, American generals are also thinking about so-called Eurostrategic warfare, in which a nuclear conflict between the NATO and Warsaw Pact states would be restricted only to Europe. Thus they have let it be known again that they regard our continent as the world's main battlefield.

Any person, even one who does not know much about military matters, will grasp the monstrousness of the idea of keeping nuclear warfare within certain limited borders. "Any calculations about victory in a nuclear war once it has been unleashed are nonsense. There can be no victors in a nuclear war, once it has been unleashed. That war would inevitably lead to the extermination of entire nations, to immense devastation and catastrophic consequences for civilization and to life itself on earth." This is how the joint statement of the Warsaw Pact states assesses such views. It shows that the objective of the imperialist circles is to blunt the vigilance of nations, make them become accustomed to the idea of the possibility [realnost] and acceptability of "limited war," suppress in them any resistance against an unlimited arms buildup and against preparations for war.

The approach of the countries of the socialist community, which on principle reject any other doctrine but a defensive one, and which have no intention of creating a nuclear potential for a first strike, are sharply contrasted with these dangerous ideas of the U.S. representatives and of the representatives of the other NATO states. This, however, does not mean that the socialist states are not preparing in an all-round manner to beat back aggression against their countries.

The new American strategy and the attempt to upset the approximate military-strategic parity which exists between the United States and the USSR and between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact states constitute, to express it graphically, communicating vessels. This is best illustrated by the U.S. programs oriented toward expanding and speeding up the buildup of its strategic offensive and general purpose forces.

The strategic instruments of nuclear attack remain the Pentagon's decisive striking force. However, their range, effectiveness and accuracy are being increased. Last December the world learned about President Reagan's decision to station 100 new guided intercontinental missiles known as MX, a matter which would be a grave infringement of the SALT agreements and which would destabilize the overall strategic situation. It is quite logical that the Soviet Union -- in the interest of ensuring its own defense capability as well as of its allies -- cannot leave such a provocation without a response.

The American "hawks" continue rearming the Minuteman III guided missiles with new multiple nuclear warheads. The nuclear submarines are equipped with Trident I guided missiles with a range of 7,500 km and a warhead with a 100-kiloton nuclear payload. They are already counting on beefing up their strategic offensive forces with the new Trident II guided missiles in the second half of the eighties. As of 1986, the Air Force is to begin to be equipped with the new B1B strategic bomber. Despite the opposition of the world progressive public they are stepping up the production of neutron devices and of chemical and bacteriological weapons. In military research and development the United States is concentrating attention on the development of space weapons systems with the aim of utilizing space as a future battlefield.

The intention is to conduct the aforementioned "Eurostrategic war" between NATO and Warsaw Pact states by a gradual use of not only existing tactical and operational-tactical means of nuclear attack that are deployed in Western Europe, but also of the new Pershing II intermediate-range guided missiles and of guided missiles with a flat trajectory.

At their session last December, the supreme NATO command bodies reaffirmed the validity of their 1979 decision to deploy these nuclear weapons in selected European countries of the pact toward the end of 1983. The materialization of this approved plan would lead to a negative change in the development of the European military-political situation and would further enhance the danger of unleashing a nuclear conflict.

The 108 Pershing II guided missiles -- they are being intensively developed and tested -- are meant to gradually replace the current Pershing I missiles in the next 5 years. The new guided missiles are more perfect, have 3 times the range of their predecessors and 10 times their accuracy, and they can be armed with various kinds of nuclear warheads.

Within the same deadline the American units in Western Europe are to be gradually equipped with 464 ground-guided missiles with a flat trajectory. These represent a completely new means of nuclear attack, one with a range of 2,500 km, a destructive 200-kt force and a great accuracy. The range of both kinds of guided missiles would make it possible to hit targets not only on the whole CSSR territory, but on extensive parts of the USSR's European territory. From this precise viewpoint it is imperative to regard these means as strategic nuclear arms which cannot be excluded from any negotiations on preserving the balance of forces in Europe.

Negative Attitude to Realistic Proposals

It is natural that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states resolutely oppose these intentions. By its proposal on declaring a moratorium on both sides on the deployment of these weapons in Europe, and later by its one-sided decision to withdraw a part of its own means from the European part of its country, the Soviet Government provided an incentive for halting the arms races and for pushing through the ban on deploying new nuclear means and exchanging old ones for new ones. This stance has found a positive reaction among a considerable part of the West European public. The governments of appropriate NATO countries are nevertheless maintaining their negative attitudes.

The Soviet proposals proceed from the existing approximate equilibrium of intermediate-range nuclear means on the side of NATO and the USSR. It is no secret that both sides have almost 1,000 such means. Even in the West the truth of these data is not doubted by experts. The USSR's calculations take all guided missiles into account, including the aircraft carrying intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Under the conditions of the existing coalition grouping in the West one cannot overlook that the equivalent to Soviet means quite understandably also includes -- apart from the American means -- the British and French nuclear means. The realistically assessed correlation of forces must also include the American aircraft carrying nuclear weapons that are deployed on air bases in a number of West European countries and on American aircraft carriers. And it is these objective facts that the United States and other NATO states want to exclude from the Geneva negotiations.

Do they perhaps have a realistic reason for defending this standpoint? Facts say they do not. "The basic premise of all disarmament negotiations is respect for the identical interests of the security of the participating sides.

But even today the Western states have a 1.5-fold supremacy over the Soviet Union in these means. That is why the American so-called disarmament proposals, which do not take real facts into account, cannot be assessed otherwise than as an endeavor to acquire substantial military-strategic supremacy. In fact, the authors of these proposals in the United States know very well that the USSR will not agree to unilateral disarmament in this sphere, that it will not weaken its own defense abitlity or that of its allies, the hypocrisy of the U.S. proposals is therefore quite obvious.

This approach also represents the basic reason the results achieved so far in the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States on limiting intermediate-range nuclear weapons provide no reason for optimism. The United States is deadlocking the bilateral negotiations, and everything indicates that it does not want the situation to be any different. Were the development to continue in this direction, this would lead toward a further sharpening of the confrontation, the final consequences of which would endanger the life of mankind. That is why the Soviet proposals contained in the speech delivered by Yuriy Andropov, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the solemn session in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's establishment, and also confirmed by the uniform standpoint of the Warsaw Pact states, represent a new hope that the West will not waste the opportunity for an agreement and that, for the first time in European history, there will be a successful breakthrough in the magic circle of expanding nuclear arsenals and their immediate limitation will begin.

The Political Declaration of the Prague session of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee summarizes and specifically formulates the paths which are desirable to take in resolving these issues. Their common denominator is consistent respect for the principles of equality and equal security of all interested sides.

The significant peace effort of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states cannot be passed over in silence; neither can its purpose be belittled by hasty polemical statements. Every Western politician is dutybound to realize that mankind's future is being decided on today; and that the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has no other acceptable alternative.

The FRG's Role in the Pact's Plans

The U.S. plans for renewing its leading position in the world also attribute an increasing significance to conventional forces. This is testified to by the decision that the American Armed Forces in central Europe will receive almost 2,000 new medium M1 Abrams tanks by the middle of the eighties. The possibilities of a strategic air transfer of troops from the United States overseas are to be enhanced via the modernization of the aircraft pool involved in transport aviation. The Pentagon is increasing the numbers of naval vessels, since it regards them as a significant instrument for maintain the American military presence in strategically important areas of the world. The buildup of the 200,000-man so-called Rapid Deployment Force with the necessary logistic support, intended for military intervention in areas declared "vitally important for the United States," continues at a rapid rate.

The numerical strengths of NATO armed forces and arms are growing. Official documents confirm that this year alone the European NATO states intend to enhance considerably the quality of their troops' striking and firepower by incorporating, among other things, 550 of the latest tank models, 450 armored personnel carriers, 32 warships of all kinds, 330 combat aircraft and helicopters, and other combat technology. The realization of these intentions fully corresponds to the notions harbored by General Rogers, supreme commander of the NATO Armed Forces. The concept he formulated for a conventional war demands that large amounts of qualitatively new conventional weapon systems -- their main feature would lie in a strikingly increased destructive effect -- be ensured for the pact's armed forces.

In accordance with the American policy, the leading place in the European NATO states' military efforts goes to the FRG. The numerically strongest and best equipped NATO forces in Europe are deployed on its territory close to the CSSR and the GDR borders. The West German Bundeswehr alone accounts in the central European war theater for 50 percent of the NATO armed forces' land troops, 30 percent of the air force and 70 percent of the naval forces. Therefore, the current West German military command also puts an increased emphasis on a broad and complex application of the strategic-cooperative principle of the so-called forward defense, whose true essence is to create conditions for waging offensive operations on the territory of the socialist states from the very beginning of war.

In order to achieve that state of affairs a number of measures are being adopted -- and not only in the FRG Army. In particular, the pace of modernization is being speeded up and the overall combat-capability of the conventional forces of all NATO's member states stationed on West German territory is being raised. A plan is ready for deploying a part of the U.S. Armed Forces closer to the CSSR and GDR borders. A great number of divisions and units are being permanently kept on high alert on the so-called forward line in the FRG's eastern regions. The time necessary to transform the armed forces from a peacetime to a wartime condition is being substantially reduced. The construction of military warehouses [sklady] is being expanded, and stockpiles of equipment, military hardware, ammunition and fuel are being increased. Communications and the network of airfields are also being improved. Shortly, new forward arsenals of equipment and military technology for 3 additional American divisions and for more than 100 other units are to be build in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg in accordance with the plan for a "rapid strengthening of NATO's armed forces in central Europe in case of necessity."

In such a situation the pact's command can launch aggression against the Warsaw Pact member countries practically without any great preparations.

The system and the intensity of the operational and combat preparedness of NATO's staffs and troops also fully correspond to the aggressive military-political intentions of the United States and other NATO states. They are purposefully preparing their armed forces to wage combat activity in a general, limited and conventional war as well as in a nuclear one. For example, since 1980 the firing of the latest guided intermediate-range missiles, which belong to the so-called Eurostrategic nuclear forces, has been simulated during exercises. Increased attention is being devoted to questions connected with a rapid reorganization of armed forces and the national economy from a peacetime state to one of wartime and to the strategic ferrying of American land troops and a tactical air force from the United States to Europe.

The extent of this activity is attested to by the fact that in recent years there has been regularly held -- among other things -- a series of 25-28 autumn exercises of land troops, tactical air units and naval forces called Autumn Forge, participated in by more than 300,000 members of the armed forces, about 2,000 aircraft and 500 ships. These exercises of the European Continent extend all the way to Turkey, with the main emphasis on the FRG. From the aforementioned number of troops, about 170,000 men have exercised in areas bordering the CSSR and the GDR. During these exercises, as a rule, strong attack groups have been created in the immediate zone against our countries. In autumn 1982 -- if we take into consideration other exercises which took place on lower command levels of the national armed forces of the NATO states -- more than 110 exercises were held, in which more than 800,000 persons participated.

The growing military effort of the NATO member states is also attested to, among other things, by the facts concerning their rapidly increasing military budgets.

In the past decade alone, when the policy of the relaxation of tension prevailed in the world, NATO military expenditure almost tripled, amounting to more than $1,744,000,000,000. The proponents of militarism and aggression do not regard even this as sufficient. Therefore, the pact's expenditure is to increase from last year's $320 billion to $430-450 billion in 1985. The model for the others is the United States, where in a 5-year period ending in 1986 about $1.5 trillion is to be expended for the Pentagon's purposes -- that is, a sum which in current prices exceeds six-fold the overall American military expenditure during World War II.

The war preparations of the NATO members are accompanied by the extensive psychological warfare which the West has launched with the intention of justifying its dangerous policy, distracting the attention of the working people from their own crisis problems, destabilizing the internal situation in the countries of the socialist community, and disturbing their unity. In the interest of fulfilling these intentions, the disinformation propaganda concentrates on escalating war psychosis and provoking discord and conflicts among nations. A broadly planned campaign of lies is being launched against the domestic policies of the socialist countries, which consists, among other things, of magnifying the objective difficulties which they encounter in the course of implementing their exacting plans of economic and social development.

The miltiarist policy fo the United States and the other NATO states dangerously increases international tension and could drive the world into the flames of nuclear war. The path of the feverish arms buildup, which the representatives of the military-industrial complex of imperialism, above all the United States, have embarked upon is -- no matter how hard they try to disguise it -- the material preparation of an apocalypse. V.I. Lenin said that "war is nothing to play with, war is a terrible thing, war claims millions of victims and it is not that easy to end..." These words apply in no lesser a degree at a time when weapons exist that are much more destructive and mighty than when such words were spoken.

Members of the older generations experienced World War II and might have even gone through its fire; they learned to know its horrors and can personally testify about the suffering it caused and the victims it claimed.

To Defend Peace and Socialism Together

The yearning to live in peace is the innermost interest of our nations. The endeavor for its fulfillment is an indivisible part of the programs of the Marxist-Leninist parties. For them the preservation of peace has never been an empty propaganda slogan, but one of the pillars of their policy.

The history of the class struggle affirms that the bourgeoisie will not abandon its plans voluntarily. We cannot inactively watch dangerous developments which jeopardize the progressive development of mankind, the security of the countries of the socialist community, and our people's life in peace.

Together with the other fraternal socialist states, particularly in close unity with the Soviet Union, we have the obligation to approach the issues of the CSSR's defense-capability and to raise the Czechoslovak People's Army's combat strength with full seriousness. The common defense system of the Warsaw Pact states, whose important component the Czechoslovak People's Army is, plays the decisive role in fulfilling this vitally important task.

All these facts were objectively assessed by the 16th CPCZ Congress, which ranked the consolidation and enhancement of the defense ability of our socialist fatherland among the most important tasks of the coming years. It charged the party, the socialist

states, and our entire society with continuing to build up the Czechoslovak People's Army as an inseparable part of the Warsaw Pact states' armed forces, sparing neither effort nor means to make our Army a highly modern one, boundlessly devoted to the party and the people and capable of successfully protecting, together with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact states, peace and the achievements of socialism.

The past 2 years have fully proved that the commanders, political bodies, and party organizations have responsibly worked out the military-political line of the 16th CPCZ Congress and are consistently implementing it under the specific conditions of the Army's life. They approach the exacting tasks of combat and political training enterprisingly, aiming to constantly improve the high combat ability of the units and formations of the Czechoslovak People's Army, consolidate conscious discipline and deepen the moral spirit of military collectives.

Due to the systematic care of top party and state bodies, the introduction of contemporary modern armament and combat technology into our army has continued. This is constantly improving the quality of material prerequisites necessary for the growth of its striking and firing power. At the same time, the process of implementing the latest results of science and technology for building the Czechoslovak People's Army and for training its members has been accelerated. Apart from other things, the high mastery of the most modern combat technology has been convincingly proven by our own, and also allied, combat-staff and tactical exercises held during the last training year.

The first months of the new training year show that we are succeeding in more deeply analyzing our successes as well as the causes of certain shortcomings. In comradely cooperation with party organizations, commanders and political bodies, we are adopting effective measures for constantly improving the current state of affairs, for expanding positive experience and eliminating the phenomena which are impairing the combat ability of units and formations.

The positive results achieved in enhancing combat preparedness and in fulfilling the tasks of combat and political training are also due to the consolidating moral-political state of all army members. This is specifically expressed in the fact that the absolute majority of the Czechoslovak People's Army members fully support the party's policy, have correctly grasped the mission of the Czechoslovak People's Army, have adopted crystal-clear class attitudes toward the dangerous course of imperialism and are devotedly fulfilling exacting tasks in defending the interests of socialism. The commanders and soliders of our Army have not lost sight of the fact that they are responsible to the CPCZ, to the workers class, and all working people for the Czechoslovak People's Army, which -- together with the Soviet Army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact nations -- vigilantly guards the interests of socialism and is prepared, in this combat formation, to ward off and destroy any and all aggressors, and to successfully defend world peace and the peaceful work of the Czechoslovak people.

[Bratislava PRAVDA on the same date carries this article on page 3]

HUSAK SPEAKS TO NEW SCIENCE ACADEMY PRESIDIUM

AU141955 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[CTK report on remarks by President Husak at 11 February reception for Presidium of CSSR Academy of Sciences; "Appraisal of the Czechoslovak Scientists' Work; Comrade G. Husak Received the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences"]

[Excerpt] Our society, Comrade Husak said, allocates considerable resources to the development of science. We thus rightly expect the most expedient use of these resources.

Furthermore, Czechoslovak science must seek further ways and opportunities for making even better use of them than it has thus far, and achieve even better results in the activities of scientists, scientific teams and entire workplaces.

Of decisive importance today is that science and research substantially enhance their share in improving the efficiency and standards of the Czechoslovak national economy. The results of science and technology are being implemented in practice only slowly -- this does not correspond either to our needs or to our possibilities. That is why it is so necessary to link scientific-research work much more closely with the society's practical tasks and needs, so that it will participate far more actively than it has to date in the preparation and realization of the strategic goals of building advanced socialism. Under our conditions it is a matter of concentrating forces and means to contribute to making the scientific and social contribution of the basic Czechoslovak research as large as possible. Our talk has proved that there are many correct plans and good ideas in the sphere of scientific-research work, its further upsurge, and greater contribution to speeding up the advance of the socialist society. But the main issue is to realize these ideas and plans as quickly as possible. This requires an enterprising approach, consistency, and a resolute attitude from all responsible people. For this it is necessary to combine more effectively the efforts of scientific academies, university-level schools, and basic and applied research, and to make more extensive use of the opportunities provided by our international scientific cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. At the same time we must carefully follow the results of science worldwide and make good use of them.

Naturally, it is not always possible for our scientific-research base to give scope to implementing all these goals and to overcome the various obstacles preventing this to the fullest extent. That is why our top party and state bodies and devoting considerable attention to these matters.

Comrade Gustav Husak concluded his statement by again thanking the scientific workers for their involved and honest work in the sphere of science and research, and expressing the conviction that our entire scientific front, the Czechoslovak and Slovak Academies of Science, would do everything to enable the role of science in the economic, technical and cultural progress of the Czechoslovak society to continue to grow. He wished all members of the new Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and our entire scientific-research base many successes in their further work.

RADIO REPORTS ON REAGAN PRESS CONFERENCE

LD170946 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0700 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] At a White House press conference last night, U.S. President Reagan once again affirmed his so-called "zero option" for medium-range weapons which is aimed at unilateral disarmament on the part of the Soviet Union. He made no other proposal. Although Reagan professed to want genuine negotiations in Geneva, he had the presumption to claim that there is no serious Soviet counterproposal on the table. He thus ignored Moscow's offer of reducing medium-range missiles on both sides to less than one-third [as heard] whereby a balance would be achieved in missiles and in the numbers of NATO and Soviet aircraft.

Reagan, alluding to the U.S.'s allies, let it be understood that in the event of Pershing II and cruise missiles not being sited in West Europe, he would regard this as a setback for NATO policy. He persisted in the appointment of Kenneth Adelman as the new chief of the arms control authority, whose confirmation a little earlier had been turned down again by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Adelman's remarks to the effect that arms talks should only be conducted in order to mollify the public and allies were highly significant.

MITTAG, FRG OFFICIAL DISCUSS EUROPEAN ISSUES

LD161527 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 16 Feb (ADN) -- Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, today received Uwe Ronneburger, member of the FDP Executive Committee, at the latter's request. They discussed questions of common interest relating to the international situation and relations between the GDR and FRG. Both men agreed that both German states bear a great responsibility to ensure that war should never again start from German soil. They emphasized the need for action to secure peace, prevent a nuclear inferno, and achieve disarmament.

Guenter Mittag pointed out that the letter sent by Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl expresses the GDR's clear and unequivocal position on the Swedish Government's proposal to create in central Europe a zone free of nuclear weapons. The GDR supports this proposal and is prepared to make its territory available to implement it. It would be of supreme importance for peace and detente in Europe if Helmut Kohl were to answer Erich Honecker's letter positively. The people of Europe could then draw a breath of relief and a beginning would be made to impart a new impetus to the process of detente. That would also be a positive reaction to the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact states and its proposals for a reciprocal renunciation of force.

Guenter Mittag emphasized the GDR's readiness to steadily develop its relations with the FRG on the basis of equality, reciprocal advantage, and strict regard for sovereignty. He stressed that it is necessary always to proceed from the reality that two sovereign states exist which are independent of one another. It must be clear that the wheel of history cannot be turned back.

The talk was attended by Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, the head of the FRG permanent mission in the GDR and Karl Seidel, head of the FRG Department in the GDR Foreign Affairs Ministry.

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH ROMANIA SIGNED IN BERLIN

LD162055 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1812 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Berlin, 16 Feb (ADN) -- The GDR and Romania will increase bilateral trade this year. This emerges from the annual protocol for 1983 signed by the two foreign trade

ministers, the GDR's Horst Soelle and Romania's Vasile Pungan, in Berlin on 16 February. Key points of the protocol are reciprocal deliveries of engineering, electrical engineering and chemical products; and raw materials and semimanufactured goods.

The GDR will export to Romania lifting and transport equipment, farm machinery, railway coaches, building machinery, pot-ash fertilizer, and consumer goods and will import from Romania hydraulic loaders, tractors, postal container trucks, electric motors and food-stuffs.

PEACE DEMONSTRATION HELD IN DRESDEN 13 FEBRUARY

AU151115 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 83 pp 1, 3

[Gisela Kopte and Horst Richter report on peace demonstration in Dresden on 13 February]

[Summary] "On Sunday over 100,000 inhabitants of Dresden expressed the unshakable will to do everything to secure peace and to use all their strength to ensure that no new U.S. missiles will be deployed in Western Europe. At one of the biggest peace demonstrations in the history of the city, on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the barbarous destruction of Dresden by Anglo-American bomber units, they vowed to strengthen and protect their socialist homeland so that the life of prospering cities can never again be extinguished by an imperialist war."

At the rally, which took place in front of the ruins of the Frauenkirche, Guenther Drefahl, president of the GDR Peace Council, the working people Erika Hohlfeld and Gerd Ehrlichmann, and Pastor Ilsegret Fink gave addresses. With the appeal "Call From Dresden" the participants in the manifestation turned to the inhabitants of the partner cities and also to the citizens of the countries of Western Europe in which the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles is planned and called upon them to do everything possible to prevent these NATO plans and work for constructive disarmament negotiations.

In his address Guenther Drefahl praised the Prague declaration of the Warsaw Pact. "The president of the Peace Council called it the expectation of the entire peace-loving public of Europe that the FRG Government would also give a positive answer to the Palme initiative as proposed by the GDR." Erika Hohlfeld recalled the events of 1945 and Gerd Ehrlichmann, an apprentice, stressed his support for peace and that the youth in the GDR has a safe future. Pastor Ilsegret Fink underlined the Christians' responsibility for peace and their commitment to work for a world without weapons, stating that for Christians there is no alternative to trust and security.

After the appeal had been read the delegation of the GDR Peace Council and prominent figures of Dresden Bezirk and city laid wreaths at the memorial in front of the Frauenkirche.

BUDAPEST REPORTS REAGAN'S PRESS CONFERENCE

LD170950 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] At his press conference yesterday evening, Reagan presented a $4 billion program for reducing unemployment. Nonetheless, journalists put questions to the President about arms reduction. Our New York correspondent Istvan Kulcsar reports: The discussion of the American proposal concerning Euromissiles, the so-called zero-option, has reached a deadlock. Why does the United States fail to offer something that could be a real basis for talks? This was one of the questions. Reagan repeated his earlier statement that America is prepared to listen to any fair counterproposals; however, as he claimed, no such proposal has been made so far. When another journalist reminded him of Yuriy Andropov's compromise plan, the President replied by saying that it could not be described as a sensible proposal.

Reagan received four questions about Kenneth Adelman's appointment. The President wants to appoint Adelman as head of the Arms Control Agency, which is in charge of the Geneva talks. However, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday practically removed from the agenda any further discussion of his appointment to this office on the grounds of the candidate's incompetence, thus giving Reagan an opportunity to withdraw the proposal. Nonetheless, the President said that Adelman is perfectly fit for the post and that he would continue to stand by him.

FOREIGN MINISTER PUJA ON EAST-WEST ISSUES

PM161433 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Feb 83 p 30

[Michel Tatu report: "Mr Puja Expects 'Very Bad Period' in East-West Relations if U.S. Missiles Are Deployed"]

[Text] Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Frigyes Puja ends a 48-hour visit to Paris this Friday 11 February -- a visit during which he had a meeting with Mr Cheysson on Thursday followed by a working lunch. Mr Puja also met with the minister of state for economic planning and development, Rocard, but was not able to have a meeting with Mr Mauroy owing to the premier's illness. He was due to have a meeting this Friday with Elysee Secretary General Bianco and to be entertained at lunch by Pierre Joxe, who chairs the parliamentary group for Franco-Hungarian friendship.

Mr Puja, who had not visited France since 1975, welcomed the boost given to Franco-Hungarian relations by Mr Mitterrand's visit to Budapest last July. Political contacts have become more frequent, he noted, with visits to Hungary by Mr Rocard and Mr Joxe and forthcoming visits to France by a deputy prime minister, the minister of culture, and at least four more Hungarian ministers.

Mr Puja admitted that economic relations are a problem, since Hungary is having to reduce its investments and hence its import of capital goods owing to the world crisis. The present balance of trade surplus in France's favor (Fr52 million in 1982) is in fact becoming a deficit, since Budapest has reduced its imports by 8 percent and increased sales to France by 20 percent, but, Mr Puja stated, an effort will be made to restore a balance without reducing the overall trade volume.

The discussions between the Hungarian minister and his French counterpart were frank but inconclusive on the Euromissiles question: "We did not convince each other," Mr Puja told us in that connection, and he not only upholds the Soviet stance, but seems completely unmoved by the argument that the future U.S. millises, which would merely pass over the heads of the USSR's friends to reach big brother, ought to leave the former relatively indifferent.

Mr Puja even anticipated Soviet firmness by saying that he was skeptical about the possibility of an intermediate solution between Mr Reagan's zero option -- which he regards as "totally unacceptable" -- and Mr Andropov's solution. According to him, any deployment of U.S. missiles in the West, however limited, will lead to additional armaments on the Soviet side and hence to a new twist to the arms race. Similarly the Hungarian minister stressed the need to take account of the French nuclear forces, which are "a reality" irrespective of Paris' status and regards the Atlantic alliance. "Even if those weapons were in the hands of a neutral country, they would have to be counted," he said.

Nonetheless Mr Puja did not conceal his concern to limit the damage should the Geneva negotiations fail. He does "not think it will be necessary" to deploy Soviet nuclear weapons in Hungary or in other East European countries if U.S. weapons are deployed in the West, he said in reply to our questions, after specifying that there are at present no such weapons, not even tactical weapons, in any Warsaw Pact country other than the USSR. Similarly, in the same event he does not expect difficulties over Berlin, "whose status has been settled by agreement among the four powers."

Nonetheless, "it is difficult to imagine holding out your hand to somebody who has slapped your face," and Mr Puja expects a "very bad period" in international relations if the NATO decision is implemented.

Mr Puja noted that the main leaders of the coalition now in power in Bonn do not have identical positions on the arms problem and that even Bavarian CSU leader Strauss expressed the view that the zero option was not a basis for discussion. That is one more reason for Hungary to try to improve its relations with the FRG whatever the result of the March election and the final decision on the nuclear weapons. The same will be true of the other Western countries, taking account, of course, of the "general climate" which prevails at the time.

POLITYKA INTERVIEWS HUNGARY'S SANDOR GASPAR

AU161932 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 12 Feb 83 p 12

[Michal Jaranowski interview with Sandor Gaspar, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and general secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions: "Uniformity Is a Terrible Disease"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] What is the extent of trade union freedom in socialism? At the last WFTU congress in Havana, which you chaired, you said that trade unions can never be an ordinary tool in the hands of a government or party. What can trade unions be in a country with a one-party system like Hungary?

[Answer] Confidence is a measure of what is possible, but one cannot obtain confidence by simply ordering it or by means of slogans and declarations, but only through concrete work. But, and this I want to stress strongly, one has to have the right conditions for this work. We do not like to speak about our experiences very much, and we do not want to be a model; we have enough troubles. If our unions have their own specific character it is because Hungary, a small country, has its specific character. Uniformity is a terrible disease.

Since 1956, we have been working steadily in order to build a guarantee into the socialist system that the crisis will not repeat itself. Historically speaking, the essence of the situation is that we are building socialism in a one-party system. We know what creates monopolies, but we do not always expect the consequences.

We have no shortage of dogmatists who regard Hungarian practice as some sort of monstrosity, believing that what is not contained in their heads does not and cannot exist. Their brains are in their way. It is as if I said that I have not seen America; therefore, it does not exist. We fear these individuals because they place obstacles in the path of bringing the authorities closer to working people. Some dogmatists consider it anathema when we say that the manager of the country is not the party, the government, or the trade unions, but the people, and that the party, government and unions only work in the service of the people. The party does not rule, the government does not rule -- they serve! If we had acted this way before 1956, we would not have had a crisis. But just as feudalism molded the landed gentry, so is socialism molding people who always know what to say and when to say it, who have no conflicts with anyone, and who live peacefully.

One can gain and maintain confidence if the activity of a given organization is visible to those for whom it is being carried out. There are voices in the Hungarian and international press who try to define the characteristics of trade unions in socialism. They say trade unions are good when they satisfy all needs. But this is quite simply impossible. Whether unions are good or bad depends on whether they are making the most of the existing possibilities at a given time. A mother cannot always satisfy all her child's need, but she still remains a mother.

In order to have lasting confidence, unions must be open and democratic. They must tell the people what they are doing and propose fixed plans and solutions in an open manner. One cannot silence problems which pervade public opinion, not even when some of the demands made by public opinion are unacceptable. Tension in the community will exist regardless of whether or not we talk about these matters. In order to solve thorny issues, one has to know how they are echoed by public opinion, and one must examine the causes of the tension from many angles. We have to talk to working people about all this openly and solve problems with the resources that trade unions have at their disposal.

[Question] What about democracy? Two years ago the NEPSZABADSAG deputy editor in chief, Peter Renyi, said in a DER SPIEGEL interview that the leadership trade union bodies had shaped the opinion of the masses on the state admininstration's plans and decisions until recently. Now it is the other way round: First, the central body should hear out the opinions of trade unionists and only then adopt a stance. Renyi called this an attempt at direct democracy. Is it still an attempt and is this the kind of democracy you had in mind?

[Answer] Direct democracy...I would not draw such a sharp distinction between direct and indirect. What we have is a mixture which does not have a very clean profile. We have also spoken to Gyorgy Lukacs. He said that representation is the creation of capitalism, whereas in socialism one may only speak about direct representation. This may become true at some stage, but right now we have other conditions. Democracy is not a static form. By the way, the fullest form of direct democracy occurred under slavery. Everyone voted on every important matter -- as long as they were freemen.

Not everyone can make decisions, but everyone should have the chance to speak before they have been made. We decided at the last union congress that the government's proposals ought to be passed down the ranks by the union leadership. Delegates are gathering opinions at the bottom and passing them to the top. This is no longer merely an attempt; this practice already exists.

Our party does not lay down the details of social production; it merely outlines its strategy. For example, the Central Committee proposes that this year we should assign, say, 75 percent of national income to consumption and 25 percent to accumulation. The government works out the details of this directive and trade unions submit their views and propose changes, but it is the commonsense of all sides that finally decides the issue.

The point is not to overthrow [obalac] the government, which could be done at least twice a year, but to find the best possible solution under the given circumstances. A certain proportion of profit is left in enterprises, which enjoy considerable independence. If trade unions agree, this proportion can be used to increase wages, to reinforce social benefits, to promote housing construction, etc. If administration and trade unions are unable to reach agreement, the decision on these issues cannot be implemented. In such cases appeals are made to a higher authority. We have 500-600 such cases a year in our country.

[Question] You said at one time: In our country the trade union movement is self-governing in its activities, but is not independent. Was this a definition of the state of affairs as you have just outlined?

[Answer] You can construct two terms in different ways in the Hungarian language as you can in the Polish language. The term self-governing is clear and means organizational self-government. And independent? I have carefully read the text of the Polish trade union law, which lays down how this term should be understood -- as independent from administration. Translated into Hungarian, this means that the trade union movement is committed politically and identifies itself with socialism, but is able to meet the demands of the masses only if it can do its work in a completely self-governing manner. These are the general principles. Practice should be developed in line with the specific conditions of a given country. Trade unions should not be as alike as two peas in a pod.

[Question] Let us return to the issue of trust. Hungarian leglislation states that districts with one mandate each are appointed during the elections of the local authorities, that there should be more than one candidate, and that only one candidate should be voted for. But, in fact, in most cases only one candidate presents himself for election, which means that the intentions are good, but the practice is not too good. Does this not undermine trust?

[Answer] You are right. We will have to do something about this. If only one candidate can be elected, the person who is not elected regards himself as having been wronged. This is undoubtedly what public opinion thinks.

[Question] Perhaps this is a result of a lack of democratic traditions?

[Answer] Perhaps. I will tell you something I experienced when I was a worker. In the mid-thirties I was employed in Budapest by a branch of an Austrian firm. We received a magnificent new machine from Graz, and our foreman told us that a great man would come to us the following week to teach us how to operate this machine. He came, indeed, gave us lessons and went away. I asked the foreman what was great about that man, who was a little man to me. The foreman's reply was: You are a young fellow. Our guest was elected mayor of Graz as a trade unionist 2 years ago. He lost the following elections and returned to his trade without any ado.

In the Austria of 1936 he was a great man. If the chairman of a district people's council loses an election and returns to his original job in the Budapest of 1982 he will be a little man. As I have said, we must do something about this.

[Question] A kind of unwritten social contract exists in your country. There are no open conflicts in Hungary, but, as everywhere, there must be some dissidents. Some people in the West write that you have reached an agreement with the opposition. This agreement stipulates that one must not question the party's leading role, for example. What is the truth? Is your internal peace a result of the fact that people professing other political convictions give you silent support and that they are aware of the prevailing conditions? Are there any other reasons for this?

[Answer] This subject could be discussed for half a day. What can I tell you in brief? In the situation in which European countries have found themselves and when the impact of the crisis is being felt everywhere, various phenomena continue to assert themselves. Workers public opinion in Hungary has continued to change. People have known unemployment, imprisonment, and hunger. Years ago people used to think: We will be satisfied with a buttered slice of bread and work every day as long as power is in our hands. Power continued to change and so did the views. The present power apparatus grew up in an atmosphere of success. Improvements have continued every day ever since 1965 [year as published]. In 1979-80 prices began to go up. Gasoline prices went up twice a year. Our people were not used to such increases and their national dignity was almost offended: What is this?!

Politics should be conducted openly. People who form public opinion were born in socialism, understand the essence of socialism, and confront theory with practice every day. It was much easier to conduct politics 30-40 years ago because you could count those who knew the theory of Marxism on the fingers of your hand. Now everyone knows it, which is very good; but what complications this involves for the work done by the leadership! The power apparatus has not signed any contracts with any group of people -- with anyone. The power apparatus does not enter into any bargains, but it tolerates some views.

Our dogmatists say that this is "revisionism." We are ready to learn from anyone and to discuss things with anyone. We are ready to discuss whether our policy is right, but we will not accept one thing: that we are dishonest. Our policy is honest! It is not a quiet policy. It continues to search and to experiment. It insists on its right to make mistakes. When we know we are wrong we retrace our steps. Perhaps this is why we have that silent support you have mentioned. Everyone wants to live in a quiet country.

Let God protect the workers movement against the cadres that never err and against the people who are hard, always guard the idea, and always know what to say, but never know what to do and have never won a single man for socialism. Our poet Ady Endre called these people minutemen.

[Question] You are leaving Poland in 2 hours, and I will not be able to give you the text of this interview for you to authorize. Would you agree to publishing this interview unauthorized?

[Answer] I have spoken openly about our policy and I have said much about trust and honesty. If I were going to change anything in this interview you might take a different view of it. I agree and trust that you will render my words in keeping with the principles of journalistic honesty.

SARLOS RECEIVES POLAND'S RAKOWSKI, CIOSEK

LD162235 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish deputy prime minister, has arrived in Budapest. Stanislaw Ciosek, minister of trade union affairs, is in his entourage. The visitors were received at Ferihegy Airport by Istvan Sarlos, MSZMP Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

DAILY SAYS CEMA SUMMIT EXPECTED 'SOON'

AU161534 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Feb 83 p 5

[Krzysztof Koprowski commentary: "Closer to a Summit"]

[Text] Everything points to the fact that there will soon be a "summit" meeting of the leaders of CEMA member countries. The preparations for it, it seems, were completed on Wednesday in Moscow during the working-consultative meeting of communist and workers' party central committee secretaries of CEMA states and the permanent representatives of these countries in CEMA.

The forthcoming "summit" of the socialist "ten" is nothing out of the ordinary or unexpected. The initiative to call this "summit" was voiced at the 26th CPSU Congress and the idea was brought up again at last year's meeting of CPSU and CPCZ general secretaries in the Crimea, as well as during the Zhivkov-Husak meeting in Sofia.

Let us remember that the proposal which the fraternal states supported envisages the calling of a session of the heads of the ruling parties in CEMA countries, as opposed to the annual sessions of the heads of governments. The session's aim is to be a summit discussion of the problems of intensifying and improving mutual economic ties among CEMA members as well as mapping out a long-term strategy of activities in this sphere.

This in no way means that there has been no such strategy to date; however, the point is that the world economic situation has changed considerably during the past few years, as have the conditions of international trade and East-West cooperation, which has affected the economy of the "socialist ten" to no small degree. The need arose to urgently and carefully discuss a solution to the many objective and subjective problems which occurred within the group during it's speedy development. This is in accordance with the expectations of the peoples in CEMA states.

The anticipated tightening of cooperation between CEMA countries and a greater division of labor, however, in no way means that these countries wish to divorce themselves from the mutual benefits of economic ties with the West. Despite tense East-West relations, the CEMA members constantly confirm their aspirations toward a development in trade, economic, scientific, and technical ties with those capitalist states which have demonstrated readiness to cooperate on equal terms and in mutually beneficial conditions while observing the decisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

GDANSK MILITIA ARRESTS SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS

LD161433 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] The security service of the Gdansk Voivodship Citizens' Militia has detained members of an illegal, clandestine organization called the Second National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity.

During the period of martial law its members worked on, printed, and distributed publications in which various forms of disruption of public peace were propagated. Calls were also made for action striking at the legal order.

The prosecutor has ordered the provisional arrest of 10 representatives of the leadership and the most active members of this organization.

REPORT ON PZPR ACTIVITIES IN 1982 ISSUED

AU151415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Feb 83 pp 3-5

[Report issued by the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat in Warsaw on 8 February 1983: "Information on PZPR Activities in 1982"]

[Text] The past year was an important phase of the revival of the party, of the strengthening of its ideological identity and political and organizational cohesiveness and of the recovery of its trust and influence among people. This phase, which was initiated by the ninth party congress, was not an easy period for the party, but the congress program was being consistently implemented, all the same.

I. Strengthening the Party's Worker Character and Restoring Its Ties With People

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress effected a radical breakthrough in the party toward the ideological Marxist-Leninist sources, the party's organizational norms, and its ties with the life of the people. It eliminated the danger of the party's internal rift and prepared the party for the struggle against antisocialist opposition. It worked out the policy of democratic sociopolitical reforms and a broad national agreement on the basis of the principles of the constitution. The year 1982 was a period during which the party strengthened and purged its ranks and implemented statutory principles in party practice.

1. The Central Committee's Inspirational Activities in Implementing the Ninth Congress Program

The Central Committee held its seventh plenum at the beginning of 1982. This plenum, which was the first to be held during martial law, mapped out the party's tasks under new conditions, reaffirming the unchangeability of the line of national agreement, the struggle against the political adversary, and profound economic reforms.

The Central Committee plenums tackled the key problems resulting from the ninth congress program and from the country's changing political and economic situation. A new work style of the Central Committee was developed.

Plenary sessions are preceded by a long period of political work, internal consultations, scientific analyses and so on. Members of the central authorities are active not only during the plenums, but also in 16 problem commissions, during information and consultative meetings, and in the editorial councils of the press organs.

In 1982, too, side by side with Central Committee secretaries, representatives of the government and scientists present at such meetings supplied members of party cells with information, explanations, and analyses of the situation in various spheres of life. There were five such information and consultative meetings.

Requesting all Central Committee members to present their evaluations of the situation in the party and among the people was also a new form of Central Committee work, which was used for the first time before the seventh plenum. The written evaluations were analyzed and summed up and the resulting conclusions were incorporated in the Politburo report delivered at the plenum. Such surveys of evaluations were repeated four times in 1982.

The work done by the 16 problem commissions, which held 89 meetings in 1982, is an integral party of the Central Committee's activities.

All Central Committee plenum resolutions were prepared or assessed by the problem commissions. For example, seven problem commissions participated in preparations for the 10th plenum.

The problem commission's work and cooperation with the Central Committee departments produced many party documents, programs, and evaluations concerning the various lines of party activities. These documents, programs, and evaluations were then approved by the Politburo or the Central Committee Secretariat.

Assessing Sejm bills is a very important and extensive area of the work done by the Central Committee commissions, which as a rule formulate their own views, which are preceded by consultations with the worker and rural party organizations or with the party intelligentsia circles and which are supported by the political and ideological arguments in favor of the proposed solutions.

The participation of the PZPR Sejm deputies, who are regularly invited to attend the commissions' sessions, crucially helped to improve the form and content of the proposals contained in the bills. The government's most important programmatic plans are also assessed in this way.

An important line of the problem commissions' work was to initiate and prepare various internal party measures, primarily those that seek to assist the party's basic cells. These measures included special publications (for example, the manual for the primary party organization); conferences (the first all-Poland ideological-theoretical party conference); control of the work done by party cells and organizations (eight such local sessions were organized in 1982); and intervening in the cases that give rise to public unrest or dissatisfaction.

All problem commissions continue to devote much attention to this last issue, which is subjected to special solicitude and most careful consideration by the commission for proposals, complaints and hints from the population. This commission was instrumental in creating an efficient system by which the party responds to observations, proposals, and hints supplied by citizens.

The Central Committee commission which was charged by the ninth party congress with the task of explaining the circumstances and facts of, as well as the reasons for the social conflicts in People's Poland, is also active. In 1982 this commission discussed the results of its work to date in a number of party committees, prior to drawing up a collective report.

The Central Committee commission for drawing up a PZPR long-term program was also instituted by the ninth party congress. The four teams of this commission continue to tackle the problems of the aims of socialist construction; the long-term lines of socioeconomic development; the long-term lines of socialist democracy; and the PZPR's tasks in playing the leading role in society.

Implementing its statutory functions, the Politburo regularly examined the key socioeconomic, political, and ideological problems and adopted resolutions and decisions to define the lines of the work done by the party and state authorities in implementing the ninth party congress resolution. The Politburo paid much attention to controlling the implementation of party resolutions and regularly examined the problems of the living and working conditions of society's workers class [klasy robotniczej spoleczenstwa]. In 1982 the Politburo held 41 sessions, including a joint session with the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium.

The Politburo enjoined party cells and organizations to support the efforts to combat social sabotage [szkodnictwo] as well as all kinds of diseases, perversions, and irregularities present in many sectors of socioeconomic life. The Politburo continued its ongoing cooperation with the Sejm, the State Council and the government.

Implementing the resolutions adopted by the successive Central Committee plenums, the Secretariat focused its attention on organizing and controlling the realization of the Central Committee and Politburo decisions.

The Secretariat frequently examined the style of the performance of party cells and organizations. After each Central Committee plenum TRYBUNA LUDU published the schedules in line with which party cells and organizations had to implement the relevant resolutions. TRYBUNA LUDU also published information on this implementation.

An important element of the party's new work style is the regularity of contacts between the party authorities and party members, work forces, and individual communities. Such contacts help ensure the party authorities' ties with society and the control of the party leadership by party members.

It was decided to institute permanent cooperation between members of the party leadership and selected enterprises. Regular contacts between the leaderships of the Central Committee and voivodship committees and 207 largest enterprises are also of crucial importance.

In March 1982 the Secretariat decided that political employees of party committees should belong to the primary party organizations in enterprises (over 10 percent of party organizations in enterprises have such employees in their ranks).

All forms of contacts between party authorities and the workers class and society help not only to hand down the information about the work done by party cells and to explain the activities of party authorities, but also to obtain credible and reliable information about the problems agitating party members and about their views. This ensures party members' influence on decisionmaking.

2. Strengthening the Party's Unity and Ability to Act

Strengthening the ideological and organizational compactness of party ranks, which is the necessary prerequisite for implementing the ninth congress' programmatic line, was the basic task of the entire party in shaping up its internal life.

During the implementation of the seventh plenum resolutions the party continued to overcome and reject the divisions created during the pre-August and post-August periods and to purge itself of the ideologically alien influences which were weakening it. Individual talks, which were carried out throughout the party, played an essential role in this.

The party's unity begins above all in primary party organizations to which -- in line with the ninth party congress -- the mechanisms of the party's functioning are being shifted. In 1982 party organizations evaluated the political situation in their own ranks several times and analyzed the attitudes of their members as well as their implementation of statutory duties and individual party tasks.

Political unity of primary party organizations was developing under the conditions of an acute struggle against the opponents of socialism. Most primary party organizations enriched their internal life and increased their discipline. The process of the integration of the party's young generation with the comrades who have been in the party for longer periods of time was pushed forward.

The year 1982 was also a period in which the party continued to purge its ranks. During the first months of 1982 party members whose ties with the party were weak, who succumbed to the pressure of the environment, and who failed to comprehend the extent of the counterrevolutionary danger and the need for martial law, continued to surrender their party cards. The seventh plenum resolutions changed the nature and procedure of this process. Party organizations continue to get rid of passive people and of those who failed to observe party resolutions and statutes. People who were ideologically and politically alien or hypocritical were removed from the party. Most of these decisions were made by the primary party organizations in line with the principles of internal party life. (Primary party organizations were responsible for almost 80 percent of erasures of party members' names from party rolls [skreslenia] and for over 60 percent of removals [wydalenia].)

Last year the party's numerical strength was reduced by 352,500 people (by 13.1 percent). Some 50 percent of these people left the party in the first quarter of 1982. Some 7,600 candidates were admitted to the party in 1982, of whom 40 percent were workers and 57.5 percent people between 18 and 29.

The party is still a mass party because it totals 2,340,900 members. It has retained its worker character because workers account for about 40 percent of all members and candidates. Peasants account for 9 percent of party membership.

The revival of the party is a long political, psychological-social [psychospoleczny] and organizational process. Last year considerable progress was made in the uniform implementation of the party's line and resolutions and in its militant tackling of the vital problems of various communities. Our party is no longer a party that does its job exclusively through the groups of its aktivs.

Approving the resolution on registering proposals and on controlling their implementation, in July 1982 the Central Committee enjoined party organizations and committees to adhere to disciplinary norms when receiving and implementing proposals. The universal introduction of a uniform "registration of proposals" throughout the party made it possible for their implementation, which had been often criticized, to become an increasingly more widespread factor in tapping the initiative and militancy of party members and organizations and thus in their regaining society's trust.

On the basis of detailed analyses of the style and procedures in which administrative bodies deal with citizens' complaints and letters, the offices in rural parishes, in towns, city districts, and voivodships, as well as selected enterprises, held party and official meetings that evaluated the attitudes of party members employed in the state and economic apparatus and made proposals for personnel changes in cases of glaring redtape. The executive committees of party cells mapped out the lines of party work to improve the attitudes of offices toward citizens.

The issue of the authorities' attitude toward individual business of citizens was examined at a Central Committee plenum for the first time in the history of the party. The ninth plenum resolution in this regard met with universal praise and approval of our people, as shown by the increased numbers of letters and oral addresses to the party. When the plenum resolution was published the inflow of letters and other forms of communications -- about 40 to 60 percent -- concerned housing problems.

Secretaries are on duty in all voivodship party cells and continue to receive citizens on individual business. The commissions for complaints and proposals from the population, which are active in party cells, play an important role in solving the issues brought up in letters and other communications.

The year of 1982 was also a period of improvements in internal party information in line with the general demands from party aktivs and members. Internal party information helps tighten the bilateral ties between party authorities and party members and environments in which they are active, is an important factor in deepening democratic centralism, and makes it possible to make accurate decisions.

The implementation of agitation-propaganda tasks helped us to develop a system of party information addressed to our people. This information influences the state of perception, unmasks the political adversary and clarifies party policies.

In 1982 we made tangible progress in strengthening the statutory role of all party committees and of their inspirational, organizational, coordinating and controlling functions. The executive bodies of party committees and their secretariats submit regular reports on their work during plenary sessions. Committees of various levels continue with increasing frequency to consult nonparty people, especially the people who enjoy universal authority in their communities. The number of open meetings of primary party organizations greatly increased in enterprises and institutions.

A climate of frankness is slowly developing along the axis of the party, the workers class, and the people.

The selection of cadres for the party's regular political workers is of great importance for the functioning of the entire party. The election campaign prior to the ninth party congress resulted in a mass replacement of these cadres in elected functions (60 percent) and a considerable replacement in nonelectoral functions (40 percent).

This means that the regular party cadres include new people, who are relatively young and who often began their work without any experience. On the strength of a detailed analysis of the composition of the party's political workers, the Secretariat formulated the tenets of their training and improvement. These tenets provide for a considerable increase in the intake of higher party school graduates and for an expansion of special courses. Study curricula and programs for courses give increased attention to the methodology of party work and to improvements in the forms, methods and style of the work done by the party apparatus in fulfilling its role as a servant vis-a-vis party organizations and cells.

The first accountability-programmatic campaign since the ninth party congress, which was carried out in the primary party organizations and in enterprises, city district, rural and urban party organizations in the last quarter of 1982, became a review of the state of the party.

This campaign illustrated the commitment of the primary party organizations and committees to the working people's daily problems. Accountability meetings and conferences enjoyed a high attendance and were marked by extensive discussions by the floor.

These discussions revolved around the problems of living standards, market supplies, prices, living costs, the performance of trade and services, housing construction, and social aspects of economic reform. Sharp criticism was leveled against the existence of the "black market," getting rich without work and bribery. Rural people called for the stabilization of farm policy and for improved supplies of farm production means.

As for internal party problems, the accountability campaign stressed the need for great organizational discipline and for a stronger action unity of all party bodies. The campaign often pointed out to the party members' inadequate ideological-political knowledge and evaluated the position of party cells in the centers of their activities, stressing that these activities depend on the effectiveness of work for the good of these centers and that the party's strength is primarily rooted in its ties with the workers class.

The evaluations and proposals formulated during the discussions in the course of the accountability campaign helped delegates to draw up action programs for the second half of their term and to prepare the voivodship conferences, which began last month.

II. The Party's Ideological and Propaganda Activities

The ninth congress program for extricating the country from its profound crisis, which is being implemented in the conditions of an acute struggle against antisocialist opposition and counterrevolutionary forces, called for a radical stimulation and intensification of ideological work in the party and among the people. The congress resolution states that the "congress stressed the great importance of tasks in theoretical and training activities and in developing and spreading Marxist-Leninist ideology."

The importance of these tasks stemmed from the need to restore and strengthen the party's Marxist-Leninist ideological identity and to overcome the ideological disarray and political disorientation of some party members. This was an important condition for implementing the program for Poland's socialist renewal and socialist development.

That is why the party's propaganda activities in 1982 served to popularize the ninth congress line.

This work also sought to combat the views promoted by the antisocialist forces in the country and by the foreign centers of ideological subversion and to unmask the true aims of the antisocialist underground. This activity involved the struggle with the destructive products created in public perception by antisocialist propaganda in 1980-81 -- with nationalist trends, with efforts to cut the native roots of the idea of socialism in Poland, with denying the achievements of real socialism, with a nihilistic attitude toward the state, with the rift between those in power and the people and with the voluntaristic view of objective economic laws.

1. Strengthening the Party's Ideological Identity

In 1982 ideological activities were the focus of the constant attention of the central and local party cells. The activities of these cells enabled the ideologically strengthened party to regain its ideological and intellectual initiative in the process of shaping people's perception.

The first all-Poland ideological-theoretical conference played a special role in this regard. This conference produced a theoretically intensified interpretation of many problems of socialist construction, analyzed the main platforms of ideological confrontation in Poland and the world, and formulated conclusions concerning ideological and propaganda tasks. The issues of this conference continued to be tackled by regional conferences, including those in Warsaw, Lodz, Poznan, Gdansk, Walbrzych, Czestochowa, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg, Wroclaw, Jelenia Gora, and Chelm.

The discussion on the draft declaration "what we fight for and what our aims are" helped to strengthen the party's ideological identity. The draft was addressed by the seventh plenum to the entire party.

Most participants at the ideological-theoretical conference agreed that it was necessary for the party to adopt a document invoking the traditions of the Polish workers movement and the achievements of People's Poland and defining the party's political, social, and economic aims.

The conference's discussion produced a new version of the document, which will be presented to the 12th Central Committee plenum for approval, following the necessary consultations with party aktivs.

The celebrations of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers movement helped to strengthen the party ideologically. Work was initiated to sum up the 100 years of this movement and to formulate the theses associated with this anniversary. These theses will be subjected to internal party discussions after they have been approved by the plenum. The celebrations of the 100th anniversary were an occasion for many central and regional scientific and popular scientific conferences, lectures and meetings with the workers movement activists. Central and regional exhibitions connected with this anniversary were organized. The press published regular features on the most important issues of the Polish workers movement's history.

In June 1982 the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat adopted the "assumptions for developing training work among party aktivs and members." Some 26 programs and programmatic theses were drawn up to fit various forms of training and many teaching aids were provided.

The different forms of training of party aktivs were developed quite extensively. The training of young and inexperienced party members continues to be beset by difficulties. Despite positive changes, the place of ideological-training work in overall party activities is inconsistent with current needs.

The lecturing unit, which works in line with the "principles of the performance of the PZPR Central Committee lecturing unit and the lecturing units in voivodship committees," played an important role in the ideological stimulation in the party in 1982. Central Committee lecturers held almost 6,000 meetings in primary and shop party organizations in 1982. These meetings were often attended by nonparty people. A system of real cooperation with lecturers was developed, and Central Committee lecturers held 48 meetings for information and discussion.

Last year we achieved considerable progress in the effectiveness, range, and volume of internal party political information.

Most voivodship committees and some larger first-degree party cells continue to publish standing bulletins with political information. The objective standards of these publications continue to increase.

The number of internal party nonperiodical publications has greatly increased. These publications included brochures that provide comprehensive party interpretations of the key problems of policy and economy and coordinated arguments unmasking the activities of the opponents of socialism. Last year 212 titles involving 16,885,000 copies were published. They include 12 titles and 758,000 copies in the series "The Small Library of the PZPR Activist"; 18 titles and 2.7 million copies in the series "We Answer Your Questions"; 38 titles and 3.32 million copies in the series "The Small Library of the Lecturers and Instructor"; and 24 titles and 2.64 million copies in the series "The Truth About Polish Counterrevolution."

The tasks to effect changes in public perception -- these tasks were planned for a longer period of time -- were marshalled in the "long-term programs for the party's ideological work," which was approved by the Politburo in June 1982.

Preparations were initiated to publish a new edition of "Vladimir Lenin's Works."

The 12th plenum, the preparations for which were started at the end of 1982, will be an important stride along the road to rebuild and revive the party's ideological activities.

2. The Party's Activity in Science and Education

The party's activity in 1982 in the scientific and educational communities sought to primarily eliminate the antisocialist influences that had taken root in these communities in the previous period and to which some instructors and young people had succumbed. This made it necessary to strengthen and at times even to rebuild the primary party organizations and to make it possible for them to gradually regain their political influence.

With the cooperation and commitment of the party scientific community it was possible to work out the programmatic-organizational principles of sociopolitical subjects, which, because of their instructional and educational functions, should be taught in the same way at all higher schools. A central team for instruction and education in sociopolitical subjects was set up to draw up programmatic and organizational proposals concerning the instruction of these subjects.

Compulsory teaching of political economies, Marxist philosophy and sociology, and political science was restored. Beginning with the 1982-83 academic year, all higher schools are continuing uniform instruction in pedagogical and psychological subjects in teaching faculties.

As a result of implementing the ninth party congress resolution, legislative work was initiated on science, higher schools, and education. This work was preceded by party discussions and extensive consultations with people. The outcome of these activities was the Sejm's adoption of the teacher's charter and of the higher school law.

The statutes of higher schools to regulate their internal performance were an especially important issue of the work done by party organizations in higher schools.

Improving the social, living, and wage conditions of teachers, scientists, and educational workers was one of the major problems tackled by the party. Teachers' wages were raised in 1982. The problem of old age pensions and annuities as well as of the 5-day week for teachers was settled. The volume of instruction was reduced. A new system of wages in higher schools, involving all professional groups, was introduced.

The party regards the training and education of the young as a problem of strategic importance. In 1982 the party sponsored the draft entitled "Main Lines and Tasks of Educational Work With Children and Youngsters," which will be implemented in teaching practice after it has been discussed with pedagogical councils.

We adopted a program for increasing the production of schoolbooks, which will be distributed free of charge.

Mindful of the needs of preschool training and primary education in rural areas, we planned to divide joint school grades, to cut down the distances rural children have to cover when going to school, and to extend preschool training of rural children to all areas by 1985.

In line with the ninth plenum resolution we prepared proposals for changes in the system of admission to higher studies. These changes give priority to candidates from worker and peasant communities. Party organizations sponsored discussions and extensive consultations on the draft of the new system of study grants.

In 1982 we began to work out new principles relating to the fiscal management in higher schools. These principles make allowances for the independence of higher schools and increase their ability to increase the exploitation of their research potential.

The Central Committee Education and Science Commission appraised, inter alia, the draft law on higher schools, the state of instruction in sociopolitical subjects in higher schools, the lines of 1982-85 educational policy, and the draft law on scientific degrees and titles, and analyzed the role and tasks of primary party organizations in schools and in care and educational centers.

3. The Party's Cultural Policy

The state of national culture, which was criticized by the ninth party congress, the deepening gap between the people's needs and the potential to meet them, and the results of the disorganization of cultural life by antisocialist forces, which sought to deprive the socialist state of its participation in shaping up the processes of culture, illustrated the scale of the difficulties and tasks of the party's work in this regard.

The main line of this work is the reconstruction of the socialist nature of Polish culture, that is, the fuller expression of the interests of the workers class in culture and making these interests the dominant criterion of cultural policy. This also includes creating conditions to encourage the increased social participation of the workers class (and other basic social groups) in culture.

For this reason action was taken to maintain the material, organizational-technical, and personnel base designed for cultural activities in enterprises. These issues were tackled by the Central Committee Cultural Commission and by voivodship committees. Efforts were made to propagate the need for cultural work in enterprises as a factor in fostering humanist and socialist people-to-people relations and as an integral part of life in enterprises. In addition, arrangements were made for the cultural development fund to finance cultural units and activities for those work forces that had ceased to contribute for this purpose.

The party helped to strengthen the workers creative movement, which was given the organizational support in 1982 by the National Coordinating Council of Workers Creative Groups and Associations and of the biweekly TWORCZOSC ROBOTNIKOW published by the Workers Association of Creators of Culture.

The party always stressed that the young should participate in culture and drew attention to the development of artistic works for children. The Central Committee Cultural Commission prepared an analysis of the cultural programs of artistic institutions for children. The young were also committed to an active participation in implementing the program of the struggle for the purity of Polish language.

The plan to increase the production of books by 25 percent compared with 1981 is real proof that the party is solving the problem of making culture accessible to all. Party and nonparty printing and publishing workers, primary party organizations, voivodship committees and party teams of publishers and book specialists committed themselves to implementing this plan, which was regularly controlled by the Central Committee Cultural Commission. In 1982, 174.4 million books were produced, which is almost one-third more than in 1981.

The reconstruction of the socialist state's function in culture was the necessary prerequisite for implementing the ninth congress resolution on culture. The party's inspirational and programmatic activities vis-a-vis state administration ran along these lines. On the party's initiative the state made (unprecedented) efforts to provide legal provisions for the infrastructure of culture. To this end it worked out bills relating to the Office of the Minister of Culture and Art; to propagating culture; to the work and duties of cultural employees; to artistic institutions; and to cinema reform. The Ministry of Culture and Art set up grant commissions to cater to literary and plastic art communities, the state fund for orders for plastic art and foreign commissions to coordinate and plan cultural exchanges with other countries.

The implementation of the ninth congress decision to set up the National Cultural Council and to halt the slump in real outlays on culture is of special importance. The Sejm session on 3-4 May 1982, which was the first session to be devoted only to culture and science, adopted the law on the National Cultural Council and on the Cultural Development Fund.

The party strictly observed the principle that the clashes of various ideological and philosophic trends in culture should be tolerated and that creative work should be assessed only for its artistic and ideological values. However, the party will not tolerate artistic works made to camouflage antisocialist political activities.

The activity of most creative associations was slowly restored, while conditions for their normal, statutory performance were ensured. Talks were held with many creative and cultural workers throughout 1982.

Party creative workers and party community teams played a special role in normalizing the cultural life and political situation of cultural communities.

The party attached great importance to improving the material conditions of the cultural community. One of the measures to this effect was to extend to all creative workers (regardless of their employment) the system of compensation. The fees for authors were raised greatly and the workshops of creative workers were recognized as places of special public importance (the premises law was modified accordingly). The Central Committee Cultural Commission saw to it that Z700 million were provided to improve for the time being the wages of the workers responsible for propagating culture. A system of grants was created to assist young creative workers and graduates of artistic schools.

The primary party organizations in cultural communities, which had been greatly weakened in 1980-81, overcame their recent passivity and disorientation, were

increasingly bolder in fighting the antisocialist forces, increased the number of their aktivs, and gradually regained their influence on nonparty people -- in 1982.

4. The Work of the Press, Radio and Television

One of the 1982 tasks of the party's ideological-propaganda work was recovering its necessary influence on the press, radio, and television. The efforts to gradually reinstate the suspended periodicals and programs went hand in hand with political and explanatory talks with editorial teams. A decisive majority of the journalist community rapidly recovered its place in normalizing the political life of the country. Party organizations in editorial teams recovered their ability to act. Party journalists actively participated in creating a new creative and professional organization -- the Association of the Journalists of the Polish People's Republic -- which now accounts for two-thirds of the active professional community.

Considerable model and programmatic as well as personnel changes in the editorial boards of the press, radio, and television were carried out.

Changes in the system of the party management of mass media were made. The role and responsibility of voivodship party cells vis-a-vis the local information centers increased.

The social base of editorial boards was expanded as shown by the setting up of the editorial councils of party and youth publications. Consisting of party and nonparty members, these councils are becoming instruments of public inspiration and control of the editorial boards, without undermining their independence in implementing tasks.

The party is aware of the great role of mass media in implementing the principle of the openness of public life; in public control; in honest information for the people about the problems of the party, state, and power apparatus; in creating the instruments of political inspiration; in displaying civic militancy; in polemics with the political adversary; and in the struggle for the socialist shape of renewal and for principles of national agreement.

Fulfilling its functions in the field of information as well as in publicist, interventionist, and controlling activities, the editorial boards displayed their growing responsibility for the printed and spoken word and their solicitude for the honest selection and interpretation of the facts.

Thanks to the initiative of the editorial boards, the mass media are becoming more and more a platform for the citizens to exchange views, try out arguments, and air opinions and feelings. Speaking the truth, no matter how difficult and bitter, and publishing the experience of the working people who struggle with daily difficulties is becoming a correct rule, thanks to which the areas of silence which were established over many years are being gradually filled with information. This helps restore the correct importance and role of public opinion and create conditions for the complete restoration of the credibility of mass media.

III. The Party as Sponsor of Socialist Renewal

The ninth party congress expressed the party's unshakable resolution to remove from national life the deviations from the principles of socialism and to create guarantees for the inviolability of these principles in the future. This means that the congress declared itself for promoting socialist democracy, for expanding the public base of government, for the superiority of the representative over executive bodies, for the self-governing character of social organizations and for improving and absolutely observing the socialist rule of law. The party's initiatives in 1982 and its programmatic participation in setting up the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth also helped to implement this program.

1. The Party's Partnerlike Cooperation With Allied Political Parties

The year 1982 was marked by the strengthening of the partnerlike relations between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD. These relations are expressed in the idea of the allied system of government. As far as this alliance is concerned, the party is motivated by the understanding of and respect for the aspirations of its partners. It sees this alliance as a foundation and guarantee of the state socialist system. The share of ZSL and SD representatives and of lay Catholics in the government and managements of central institutions was broadened. The activity of the party, the allied political parties and Catholic groups in creating a political platform for national agreement was harmonious.

In 1982 we also improved the organizational forms of interparty cooperation. The practice of mutual consultations about positions to be represented in the Sejm and in the people's councils at all levels was promoted. Joint personnel decisions, which included nonparty people for positions in the state bodies of government and administration, were made.

Partnerlike relations in mapping out and implementing foreign policy were consolidated as shown by the practice of sending interparty delegations to the socialist community countries.

The cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD in voivodships, cities, and rural parishes was inspired and programmed by the Central Commission for Cooperation. The Secretariat of this commission defined the main lines of cooperation among the PZPR, ZSL and SD basic cells and bodies in its letter to the first secretaries, heads, and chairmen of these cells and bodies. Cooperation commissions at all levels worked with increasing consistency. The PZPR, ZSL and SD basic cells and bodies often adopted joint programs and decisions on such matters as farming, services, health, education, and so on.

The PZPR, ZSL and SD supreme bodies developed their cooperation with the help of their individual commissions and through the active participation of representatives of the leaderships of all parties in the PZPR, ZSL, and SD plenums. The PZPR and ZSL joint plenum was a concrete expression of partnerlike relations.

2. Implementing the Idea of National Agreement

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] was produced by the ninth party congress' political line. The congress documents contained the concept of the front of civic responsibility for extricating the country from its crisis. The antisocialist forces, which sought confrontation and not agreement, hindered the implementation of this concept. The fact that the dismantling of the socialist state was halted on 13 December 1981 created a new sociopolitical situation, which made it possible to initiate national agreement.

This was demonstrated by the establishment in various communities of the civic committees for national salvation, in which party members were active from the very beginning.

The Sejm declaration on 3 May 1982, which was adopted on the initiative of the PZPR, ZSL and SD Sejm deputies, was a crucial stage in the development of the movement for agreement and rebirth. The ideological principles and the institutional concept of PRON were mapped out in the declaration issued on 20 July 1982 by the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, the PAX Association, the Christian Social Society and the Polish Catholic-Social Union. In line with this declaration the forces supporting PRON recognize that the movement's political foundation is the alliance and partnership of the PZPR -- which is the leading force of the people -- as well as of the ZSL and the SD. The constructive cooperation between the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD and the organizations of the lay Catholics who profess the socialist constitutional principles is also part of this foundation.

The declaration began the process of the countrywide establishment of provisional structures of PRON which rally and attract people who hold different political views and philosophies, but who seek as one man to achieve agreement on the present and future problems of utmost importance for the country. Provisional councils (committees) of PRON were established in all voivodships. The movement's councils are being set up in towns and rural areas. Such councils already exist in 60 percent of the basic grade administrative units. New civic committees for national rebirth or PRON councils are active and are being established in housing settlements, in villages, enterprises, higher schools, schools, institutions, and various social communities. Party members are active in all these bodies, and party cells assist them, and, if necessary, promote the civic initiatives launched by these bodies.

Party members and cells focused their efforts on attracting workers, farmers, young men and women to the patriotic movement; on supporting economic and social initiatives to improve the performance of all the bodies of the socialist state; and on developing the civic attitudes that help overcome the existing divisions and promote national agreement.

On the initiative of the signatories of the declaration of 20 July 1982, in September of the same year an initiating commission was set up, which appointed the Provisional National Council of PRON on 17 December 1982. This council is now preparing the PRON Congress.

3. The Party's Share in the Activities of Representative Bodies and Social Organizations

Implementing the ninth congress resolution, the party made comprehensive efforts to ensure the true superiority of the legislative over executive authorities and to see to it that the role of representative bodies and self-governing bodies is consistent with the needs of the democratization of state, social and economic life, and that all social groups are able to express their interests and views.

The Sejm is the supreme sovereign legislative body in our country. The Sejm deputies of the PZPR Club follow the line of the ninth congress of the Central Committee and Politburo resolutions in their Sejm work.

As a result of the cooperation of the PZPR Club with the ZSL and SD Clubs and other deputies' clubs, the Sejm devoted much attention to economic reform as the key to overcoming the crisis and reviving national economy. Economic reform is being implemented on the basis of the legal enactments provided for by the 1981 laws on state enterprises and on workers self-management groups.

In 1982 the PZPR Club launched many legal and institutional initiatives to strengthen the citizens' influence on public affairs.

The most important of these legal enactments adopted by the Sejm in 1982 include the laws on trade unions, on the social and vocational organizations of farmers, on state employees, and on the state tribunal. The Sejm also appointed the Commission for Constitutional Responsibility and passed important laws to implement the demands put forward by social and professional communities; the teacher's charter, the high school law, the law on lawyers, the law on the Cultural Development Fund, and the law on the National Cultural Council.

The ninth congress directive that the principles of social justice must be implemented and that the working people's interests must be protected was reaffirmed in 1982 by the fact that the Sejm passed the laws on combating profiteering, on dealing with people who avoid work, on training in sobriety, on countering alcoholism, on workers pensions and annuities, on the social insurance of private farmers, on changes in the law on provisions for war and military disabled, and on premises.

The Social Economic Council was set up within the Sejm as an advisory and consultative body on the initiative of the PZPR Club and on the strength of the Sejm resolution of 26 March 1982.

The PZPR attaches great importance to consultations with the public about major bills. Views about such bills are heard at meetings with the electorate and reported by social organizations and PZPR field cells. Major bills are discussed by the Central Committee problem commissions. All this means that bills submitted to the Sejm are often greatly changed.

The Sejm's intensive legislative work in 1982 created legal bases for the process of socialist renewal and for sorting out the national economy. The results of this work were one of the crucial elements that enabled the Sejm on 18 December 1982 to make the decision to suspend martial law.

The commitment of party cells to strengthen the authority of the people's councils and councillors and to stimulate their activity has increased. The teams of party councillors have increased their activities, the contacts of party cells with councillors who are party members have become more frequent, and the demands placed on these councillors by the parent primary party organizations have been tightened.

In line with the instructions of the Politburo, party cells evaluated the performance of the work done by councillors who are PZPR members. This evaluation affected 2,932 councillors of the voivodship people's councils and 40,347 councillors of the basic people's councils.

The tasks of party cells and the councillors who are PZPR members were examined by the Central Committee Secretariat and by the Central Committee Commission for Representative and Self-Governing Bodies. The decisions of this commission were transmitted to local party cells for implementation. Wishing to assist the councillors, the Central Committee Secretariat adopted the "Skeleton Rules for Councillors Who Are PZPR Members."

Various measures, which were often taken together with the ZSL and the SD, had a positive impact on the work of the people's councils. This can be seen in the militant tackling of the problems troubling the electorate, in the more effective control of the implementation of resolutions, in tightening the demands vis-a-vis the draft decisions submitted by administration, in intensifying the democratic style of work, particularly in increasing the share of people's councillors in preparing materials for the sessions of the people's councils, and in enriching the forms of public consultations.

Social organizations and the reviving trade union movement occupy an important place in social initiatives and in developing responsibility for the problems of individual communities and the country.

Following the discussions about the model of trade unionism, on 8 October 1982 the Sejm passed the trade union law. Following the passing of this law, the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum adopted the "Position on Reviving Trade Unions." This document reaffirmed once again that the party is most interested in seeing that we have trade unions which will effectively safeguard the working people's interests and rights and which are independent and self-governing -- free of the interference of state and economic administration. Sharing in decisions on the working people's economic, social, and cultural conditions, trade unions are always mindful of these people's interests when making specific decisions.

The worker class wants the ideals and values of socialism to affect the attitudes of trade unionists. That is why the party continues to create a political climate favorable to the establishment of trade unions and to fight to ensure that these unions do not become places in which the antisocialist opposition can assert its influence.

Some party members, especially workers, have committed themselves to the cause of new class trade unions. These party members and workers are active members of initiative groups and founding committees and participate in drawing up trade union statutes. Party members propagate within their communities the truth that the working people need trade unions so that their concrete problems such as social benefits, safe and good working conditions, collective labor contracts, prices, rest after work, control exercised by workers, and the struggle against all kinds of evil in their jobs are dealt with.

The new class trade unions are being set up in an atmosphere of boycott proclaimed by the antisocialist underground and the aggressive propaganda spread by the Western radio stations. They are being set up under conditions in which people are distrustful and wary of trade unions because of earlier disappointments and because of the daily burdens thrust on them by the economic crisis.

The support given to the revived trade unions by sections of the working people and the militant activities of party organizations to create the political climate and conditions favorable to the establishment of the class trade union movement are producing tangible results. There are now in Poland 40,026 organizational units in which trade unions may function. Up to 31 December 1982 some 20,470 founding committees and initiative groups were active. About 900,000 people were working in these structures. At the same time the courts received 4,338 applications for registration of trade unions, of which 2,696 were approved by the end of 1982.

Workers account most often for 60 to 80 percent of all members of the new trade unions. The majority of these members and of the chairmen of the founding committees are nonparty people.

The efforts of our party and its cells and organizations continue to be supported with increasing frequency and effectiveness by large social organizations, which greatly differ in their aims and activities. Even those which in the difficult period of 1980-81 went through the trials of faltering, uncertainty, and inertia continue to find their places in the process of extricating our country from the crisis.

By decision of their statutory authorities, many organizations have joined PRON.

Women's organizations such as the League of Polish Women, the circles of rural housewives, and the movement of women who are members of various cooperatives continued to provide comprehensive assitance for women in running households under the conditions of economic crisis and to pay much attention to the working conditions for women in industrial enterprises as well as to the working and living conditions of rural women. In several hundred enterprises the cells of the League of Polish Women were set up or reinstated.

The authorities and cells of the Polish economic society, the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, the chief technical organization and the Association of Polish Bookkeepers have committed themselves to implementing the economic reform and to explaining its principles. Other scientific and cultural associations, both national and regional, also continue to be increasingly active.

Sport and tourist organizations continued to commit themselves to activities to preserve the present achievements or to minimize the inevitable losses resulting from the economic crisis.

Hundreds of thousands of party members are active in all these organizations and continue to be increasingly aware that their attitude, views, and work shown in these organized forms of social activity constitute an important, no a decisive element in the implementation of our party's leading role in society.

4. The Party's Work Among the Young

Efforts to attract the young people to the party's program and to improve the initial conditions for young people's careers and the party's influence on the communities of young people were a particularly important line of party activities, which took place under difficult conditions. The political adversary sought to compromise socialist ideology and our country's achievements in the eyes of the young generation. The ranks of the socialist unions of the young diminished considerably. The struggle to preserve their socialist character and political unity continued within these unions.

In line with the resolutions of the ninth party congress, the party made most careful preparations for the plenary session of the Central Committee devoted to the affairs of the young. The debates of this plenum were preceded by many analyses of the situation of young people, by scientific research and by collecting the necessary statistical data illustrating the state and situation of the young.

The ninth Central Committee plenum was preceded by plenary sessions of 21 voivodship committees. On the initiative of the Politburo, the "Report on the Initial Conditions of Young People's Careers" was drawn up to form the foundation of the government's "Program for Improving the Initial Conditions of Young People's Careers," which was adopted in June 1982. On the basis of this program, detailed tasks were drawn up for departments concerning the solution of the most vital problems facing the young generation. The documents detailing these tasks were discussed by youth unions prior to the ninth Central Committee plenum. On the initiative of voivodship committees, local solutions to improve the initial conditions of young people's careers were devised.

The commitment of the members of central party authorities, the Central Committee youth commissions, party and youth aktivs, and scientific communities to the preparations for the ninth Central Committee plenum was an expression of the new style of party work. This means that the ninth Central Committee plenum was a result of the efforts made by the entire party. Thanks to this, the documents of the ninth party plenum contain an in-depth analysis of the young people's situation and define an extensive and long-term action program for the party and the state with regard to solving the problems of the young generation.

The implementation of the ninth party plenum resolution was evaluated by the Politburo in September 1982, that is, 2 months after the plenum was held. In its evaluation the Politburo stated that the implementation of the resolution in question was unsatisfactory and that party committees and organizations must commit themselves to a consistent implementation of the resolution. On 19 January 1983 the Central Committee team for the affairs of the young published in the party press a report on implementing the ninth party plenum resolutions and pointed to the obstacles that continue to hinder the militancy of party cells and organizations in this regard.

In the second half of 1982 the work of party cells and bodies was focused on drawing up and implementing the enterprise programs for ideological and educational activities, on creating conditions for socially stimulating the young in PRON, on assisting the socialist unions of young people in educational activities, and on deepening the young generation's knowledge of history.

The Youth Affairs Office of the Office of the Council of Ministers worked out a range of comprehensive topics resulting from the 11th Central Committee plenum and presented them before the Council of Ministers' Youth Affairs Committee. Work is continuing on creating a legal framework for state policy toward young people; a draft set of principles for a law on young people has been worked out and will be submitted to broad social consultation.

The socialist youth unions have undertaken to a greater extent than ever before joint actions in order to bring together young people from various milieus. In December 1982

representatives of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, the Rural Youth Union, the Polish Scouts Union and the newly-formed Association of Polish Students signed a declaration containing the principles behind cooperation and defining the goals and rules of joint activity.

A political battle is continuing in the community of young people; political divisions and differences in world outlook continue to be very much in evidence, and the lack of confidence in the party's intentions has not been finally broken. Therefore, the battle for young people is one of the most serious political problems facing the PZPR in the immediate future.

5. The Party's Echelon Policy

A correctly understood and correctly implemented echelon policy is an element which makes the party's leadership role in society real and at the same time serves to broaden socialist democracy. The decisions of the ninth extraordinary congress based on Leninist principles and the statutory regulations emerging from these decisions form a basis on which echelon policy can be made an instrument which helps determine the level of social confidence in the party and the state authorities.

During implementation of the tasks of the ninth congress, the "chief principles of PZPR echelon policy" were worked out. They were given preliminary approval by the 10th Central Committee plenum and form a provisional framework for the activity of echelons in party cells and organizations.

In 1982 the party continued its active echelon policy, which was expressed in a review of the central state apparatus and then in a review of lower levels of state and economic administration. The result of this review was that persons who did not meet the requirements of the positions they occupied were eliminated, those suitable for promotion were brought out into the open, and an echelon reserve was created. The review revealed that there was a growing number of young people and nonparty people in the administration, of whom over 550 were occupying leadership posts in the central administration. This echelon review served to politically stabilize work forces and create the right conditions for implementing the economic reform.

The process of changes in the economic leadership continued to be relatively thorough throughout 1982, and it involved 25 percent of executive managerial posts in key enterprises.

Despite martial law, 1982 was the year when leadership echelons began to be selected by competition. In this way over 150 directors for key state enterprises were selected. Among the new directors there are 86 who are aged under 35.

Despite the progressing stabilization, there is still a relatively large echelon shift among leadership posts in the central and voivodship-level state apparatus, which involved 20 percent of posts in 1982. Thirty-one new deputy ministers were appointed, 9 voivodas, 55 deputy voivodas, and 118 departmental directors. Changes also occurred among the national cooperative union authorities. In the foreign service, 27 ambassadors were changed, 52 embassy advisers, 25 directors of foreign trade headquarters and circles, and 12 foreign correspondents. Most of these changes were the result of the normal job rotation system; however, some changes were due to a number of officials going into retirement.

Very early in 1983, in the PZPR Central Committee's higher school of social sciences, a party echelon policy institute was formed. Its purpose, after providing instruction, is to carry out research and prepare expert analyses and information on phenomena occurring among echelons.

6. Strengthening Law, Order and Citizens' Security

In 1982, in all local offices of the state administration, the system of settling complaints and dealing with the views of citizens was improved on the initiative of party organizations.

The executive committees of party organizations in ministries and central government bureaus also tackled this subject in terms of how to make the administration function more efficiently.

The work of all party organizations in local offices of administration was made livelier because of the inspection of military forces which took place in selected voivodships. The activities of these offices' leaderships aimed at improving the functioning of the administration are supported by the primary party organizations.

Besides analyzing the discrepancies and shortcomings in most organizations, the professional dedication of the members of these organizations was assessed, extra party tasks were assigned and the results of the inspections were used to supplement the work plans of the primary party organizations.

Party organizations active in legal protection bodies concentrated their activity on strengthening law and order and improving social discipline.

This work was aided by undertakings aimed at a full enforcement of the law during martial law. Specifically, the correct policy was shaped concerning how to deal with summary jurisdiction cases of all kinds, ranging from court verdicts to violations of public order and the labor law.

All draft laws on the activity of legal protection bodies were the subject of talks by the Central Committee's Law and Order Commission; comments and opinions emerging from these talks have been used in legislative work.

Last May, the Sejm adopted a law on attorneys and a law dealing with changes in some of the regulations in the criminal and penal codes, and in October the Sejm amended the law on combating speculation. The last two laws have created good conditions for shaping a proper penal policy.

Before adopting the law on the treatment of persons refusing to work, party cells at the primary and voivodship level took part in consultations in workplaces to discuss the law's principles. The comments and views emerging from these consultations were used in preparing the final version of the law.

In accordance with the principles of the law on the structure of courts and the criminal code dated 1 January 1983, 376 regional courts have commenced activity (to replace the 2,389 courts which had existed previously).

Work on the following draft laws is at an advanced stage: on a change in the structure of general courts, on the Supreme Court, on the Prosecutor's Office of the Polish People's Republic, and on the general courts taking on of labor law and social security cases.

Carrying out the instructions of the Central Committee Politburo, party organizations and cells took part in improving the system of sociolegal education for people and the system of disseminating information on and publicizing the pronouncements of courts and the educational aspects of these pronouncements.

IV. Party Activity in Overcoming the Crisis, Implementing Economic Reform and Strengthening the Principles of Social Justice

The resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress establishing the principles of party economic policy also indicates how to heave the country out of the economic and sociopolitical crisis. The introduction of martial law made it possible in 1982 to curb the deepening anarchy of crisis phenomena.

The 7th, 8th, and 10th Central Committee plenary sessions were very important for directing party work toward overcoming the crisis, implementing economic reform and strengthening social justice.

1. The Party Strategy of Emerging From the Crisis

After the seventh and eighth Central Committee plenums, open meetings took place in party organizations in all enterprises. They were devoted to working out organizations in all enterprises. They were devoted to working out organizations' own programs for overcoming the difficulties and achieving better results than in 1981. The party was guided by the conviction that speed in emerging from the economic crisis and putting the economy back on the road to growth is a key matter not only economically but also sociopolitically.

The greater material and technical difficulties meant that there was a need to plan per quarter of the year and implement economic tasks on the basis of operational programs. The comprehensive economic reform began to be implemented under these difficult conditions. While the falling economic trends were halted with the help of increased economic aid from the USSR and from other socialist countries, the West, and the American Administration in particular, dealt new blows at the worn-out Polish economy. The need to overcome the effects of these blows was reflected in the modified anticrisis program approved by the eighth Central Committee plenum and in the draft-alternative assumptions for the 3-year socioeconomic plan which were examined by the 10th Central Committee plenum.

The party's work was characterized by realism. The entire range of difficulties and prerequisites was revealed, and no impossible promises of growth were made. This sort of work helped achieve progress in overcoming the economic crisis and started to build social confidence in the deeds of the party and government.

The 10th Central Committee plenum summed up the achievements of the party in the last 9 months of 1982, assessed the socioeconomic situation in the country and adopted three important resolutions: concerning the solution of thorny problems facing the country's development in the nearest future, concerning the fuel and energy economy, and concerning state maritime policy.

A growth in industrial production firmly manifested itself in late 1982, which made it possible to reduce the fall in production calculated over the entire year to 2 percent. Productivity in industry in 1982 was 4 percent higher than it was in 1981, and in construction it went up by almost 1 percent.

An important stage in party political work was the organization of social consultations in order to select one of the alternatives of the plan for 1983-85. The opinions formed by party organizations in 207 of the largest industrial installations were of special importance for the adoption of a party stance on these matters.

The plan's alternatives enabled the community to perceive the country's important economic problems. It already emerged at the first level of consultations that most party members and nonparty people thought that the second alternative of the 3-year plan was the most feasible.

Party organizations in many factories turned to the work forces with a proposal to work on free Saturdays, saying that the decision to work on free Saturdays ought to be made by the enterprises themselves and only in economically justifiable cases. Party discussion inside factories made it possible to establish the principles under which work on free Saturdays should proceed, and these principles were then incorporated in the resolution of the 10th Central Committee plenum and in government decisions.

2. Economic Reform

Primary party organizations became active in introducing the principles of the reform to enterprises, in publicizing them among work forces and in setting up social factory teams to deal with economic reform and costs and prices analysis.

The implementation of economic reform was the subject of numerous voivodship committee plenary sessions as well as conferences and seminars held by party economic aktivs in enterprises. The Central Committee organized a series of conferences attended by voivodship committee economic secretaries, party first secretaries in ministries and central government offices and the first secretaries of the factory committees in 207 of the largest factories.

Due to a careful analysis by party organizations and cells of the way in which enterprises function under economic reform conditions, last year some of the features of the economic reform were corrected by creating a better correlation between growth in output and growth in wages.

The Central Committee's economic reform and Economic Policy Commission played an important role in implementing economic reform. The commission made several assessments of the way in which the reform is being implemented in practice. In September the commission made several proposals on amending some of the mechanisms of the reform. These proposals were the subject of the talks by the 10th Central Committee plenum and were then adopted by the Sejm in the form of a budget law and by the government in the form of executive regulations.

The April 1982 resolution of the eighth Central Committee plenum placed party cells and organizations under an obligation to create the right political conditions for workers' self-management bodies to be slowly made active. Problems connected with these bodies were the subject of talks by the PZPR Central Committee's Commission for Representative and Self-Management Bodies, which in November 1982 assessed the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress concerning the idea of workers' self-management bodies and established a forum and methods of cooperation between party organizations and self-management bodies.

Right now workers' self-management bodies are involved in creating motivational systems, programs for creating more efficient management and development plans for enterprises.

3. Agricultural Policy -- A Program for Feeding the Nation

The chief task of party work in rural areas and in agriculture in 1982 was the implementation of the new principles of agricultural policy which were worked out jointly with the ZSL. The comprehensive preparatory work for the first joint plenum of the PZPR and the ZSL helped make party activity more energetic. Among other things consultations took place between Central Committee and Supreme Committee members in rural areas and in industrial installations.

An active role was played by the Central Committee's Agricultural Commission and its subcommissions. This commission expressed its opinion and adopted a stance on many basic issues concerning rural areas and agricultural policy; among other things, it adapted itself to the government "Agricultural and Food Development Program up to 1990."

A key problem in this sector was to put land cultivation in order. This was expressed in the Sejm's adoption in March 1982 of laws on protecting agricultural land and forests, on the merging of land, on changes in the civil code; and in July 1982 of the law on real estate registers and mortgages. These laws guarantee the ownership and permanence of private farms, and they guarantee that all sectors of Polish agriculture are unified and have equal rights.

In the face of the acute supply shortages to rural areas and agriculture, party activity encouraged and supported an increase in industrial production for the sake of agriculture and the food economy. In 1982 party cells and organizations launched many initiatives aimed at increasing the production of agricultural machines and equipment, spare parts, and essential chemical resources for agriculture.

A lot of attention in party work was concentrated on making use of the existing production potential of agriculture and on increasing agricultural productivity. Work was undertaken on the economic system of encouraging the development of agriculture and creating permanent ties between farms and the national economy through contracting the prices of and procuring agricultural crops. The profitability of producing basic agricultural articles was guaranteed. During this time, and especially in the second half of the year, the amount of credits available to agriculture was considerably increased. Work began in 1982 on reforming the taxation system in agriculture. It is assumed that the new fiscal system, after discussion among the rural population, will become an effective economic way of raising output and creating more efficient management.

Party work has been undertaken aimed at correctly implementing economic reform in socialized agriculture. Primary party organizations in state farms, labor cooperatives and agricultural circle cooperatives assessed the situation within their units and established further tasks in implementing the reform. They also took pains to arrange better supplies of equipment for agriculture, increase productivity, and raise the profitability of socialized farms.

The work of self-management bodies in agriculture, cooperatives and factories gradually became more energetic. As a result of the Sejm's adoption in 1982 of the Law on Cooperatives and the Law on Farmers' Social and Professional Organizations, the legal basis for the activity of these self-management bodies was formed.

Problems concerning social conditions in rural areas were also tackled jointly with the ZSL. As a result, there is a Law on Social Security for Farmers and a draft law on a social fund for rural areas, both of which have the support of the party and the ZSL.

Since the ninth plenum, which revealed the importance of the young rural generation in achieving food self-sufficiency in Poland, work has been started on improving the young farmer's start in life and work. Assessing the implementation of the tasks in this sphere, the Central Committee Agricultural Commission ordered that greater priority be given to agricultural education and to preparing young farmers for their occupation. The social and professional organizations of farmers, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and the Rural Youth Union also occupied themselves with these matters.

4. The Party's Social Policy

In implementing social policy, the party concentrated in 1982 on organizing social consultations to discuss employment, the organization of work time, wages, incomes, security and work hygiene. The party paid special attention to guaranteeing social protection to people in the most difficult material circumstances.

The Central Committee's social policy commission monitored the implementation of the party's social program and formed opinions on the government proposals concerning

system solutions and legal regulations. Similar treatment was afforded to the opinions voiced on these matters by party members during conferences in party committees at all levels, and to the stance of the Central Committee's Economic Reform and Economic Policy Commission.

While there are fewer resources available for distribution, many ways of giving limited social protection to people in the most difficult economic situations against the effects of the crisis were commenced on the party's initiative. State budgetary expenditure for social purposes was doubled. Numerous decisions were made concerning the lowest pay, old age and other pensions, and other social benefits.

In 1982 the lowest pay levels of workers in the socialized economy were raised twice. Clear progress was achieved concerning the general wage structure. In accordance with the resolution of the ninth congress, a just system of wages to match work results began to be created.

The Central Committee's Social Policy Commission assessed the functioning of social aid and encouraged the formulation of a concept for improving it. The efforts of factory social commissions aimed at easing workers' social difficulties are commendable.

On the initiative of the Central Committee's health and environment protection commission, a joint discussion involving the ZSL and the SD commenced concerning the basic principles behind the functioning of health and social care under economic reform conditions. The discussion was held in health centers, workplaces and social organizations in all voivodships. The result of this discussion is the model of health care in Poland which has been worked out and is currently being introduced.

An important task concerning the improvement of medical services is to speed up the building of hospitals and clinics. Carrying out the decisions of the 10th Central Committee plenum, the construction of hospital premises was assessed in December 1982 and proposals were made on how to improve construction.

5. The Market Situation

The party devoted a lot of attention to the problem of supplying the population with basic food and industrial articles and services, and also to restoring financial and market equilibrium.

This activity was strictly the result of the ninth congress resolution and of subsequent Central Committee plenary sessions. Rationing was standardized throughout the country toward the end of last year. The disproportions in the supply of goods between individual voivodships were also straightened out.

Of great importance for improving the market situation were the new principles behind price fixing and the changes made in the retail prices of basic food articles, fuel, and energy to suit wages. These were introduced in the beginning of 1982.

It was not possible to fully implement the ninth congress' instructions on closing the gap between supply and demand which existed because of the drastic growth in wages and social benefits. An unfavorable situation also occurred in the way prices are established, illustrated by the fact that some enterprises raised prices far beyond the level justified by the amount of work put in. In order to combat this, party organizations inside factories proposed as far back as February 1982 that teams be set up to analyze costs and prices.

On the party's initiative, a price inspectorate was formed within the price office, and control was broadened over the way in which the prices of market goods are set.

In order to curb rising prices, the list of products covered by controlled prices was extended several times on the party's initiative. Official prices and profit margins were introduced for basic vegetables and fruits, and a considerable number of enterprises were deprived of the right to fix contractual prices.

On the inspiration of party organizations, social groups were organized in order to fight speculation and sabotage. Workers from larger factories formed these groups. Youth brigades with a similar function were also organized.

As a result of the party's all-pervading influence on the market, a full improvement in the market's functioning was achieved and disproportions in finances and goods were eased. Nevertheless, the continuing growth rate in people's incomes presents a threat to the improvement which has already been achieved.

6. Housing Construction

There are still many families in Poland, especially young ones, waiting for their own apartments, and they see above all in the party program a chance to solve their urgent family problems.

In accordance with the instructions of the 10th Central Committee plenum, party organizations inside construction enterprises assessed the results achieved during 10 months of 1982 and undertook action to speed up the handing over of accommodations to the population. In some voivodships, delays occurred mainly because of a lack of finishing materials and fixtures and fittings. As a result of party control and influence, the implementation of construction tasks improved to a certain extent.

Decisions have been made which increase the Construction Ministry's responsibility: control over work quality was made more stringent, the supply of materials for the most urgent buildings projects was improved and better financial mechanisms for enterprises were introduced.

During consultations on the 1983-1985 plan, a lot of attention was drawn to the development of housing construction, which resulted in broad support for that alternative of the plan which gives preference to investment outlays for housing construction.

In 1982, on the party's initiative, the program principles of housing construction until 1990 were worked out, together with changes to some principles in housing policy. It was stressed in these principles that raising the level of housing construction demands above all initiatives from citizens directly concerned, their own financial resources and work, and comprehensive assistance from workplaces.

Consultations were held on the new principles in voivodship and factory committees, and their results were prepared for the Central Committee's Economic Reform and Economic Policy Commission.

As far as the implementation of the program principles is concerned, an important topic was the elaboration of principles behind housing construction for single families.

Party cells are helping youth organizations create housing cooperatives.

V. The PZPR in the International Workers' Movement

Last year the party faced exceptionally difficult and responsible tasks also in international activity. Last year was a period of tension in East-West relations, caused by the policy of the United States and some NATO countries toward the socialist countries aimed at upsetting the balance of forces in the world and stepping up the arms race. Inspired by the American Administration, a hostile campaign was launched against Poland, coupled with attempts at brutal economic blackmail.

Opposing this amassed pressure on our country demanded a great deal of activity by the party and by all our foreign service bodies. Efforts in this direction were concentrated mainly on restoring and strengthening Poland's position in the community of socialist countries by means of political contacts, by widening economic cooperation and by making fuller use of the possibilities inherent within CEMA. Political and

economic relations with the developing countries were made more active and attempts by Western states to discriminate against Poland both in bilateral relations and on the international forum were thwarted.

We devoted the greatest attention to developing our partnerlike contacts with the CPSU and with the other parties of the socialist countries. This aim was served by the visits made by the Central Committee first secretary in the spring of 1982 to the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, and by his August meeting with the Soviet party leaders in the Crimea. These talks revealed a full understanding and support by our allies for the steps which were taken to defend socialism in Poland and also for the needs resulting from our difficult economic situation. Of particular importance for our economy was the aid given to us by the USSR in the form of new credits, nonreturnable foreign currency supplies, additional supplies of raw materials and components and also orders for factories with spare production resources at their disposal.

The December meeting between Central Committee First Secretary W. Jaruzelski and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Yu. Andropov during the Polish party-state delegation's visit to mark the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union confirmed the unbreakable will of both fraternal parties to further strengthen Polish-Soviet relations in all sectors of social life and to act closely together in the implementation of a coordinated line in international politics.

In 1982 there was a growth in contacts based on cooperation between the fraternal parties of the socialist countries. Besides highest-level meetings, exchange visits by teams of workers increased as well as visits between friendly voivodship committees. These served to develop cooperation in other spheres of socioeconomic life.

In the current complex situation in the communist movement, our party has undertaken activity for the sake of strengthening its unity. We have maintained contacts with fraternal communist parties and other forces of social progress in the world. We hosted in Poland the Communist Party heads of Portugal, Greece, Denmark, Argentina and other countries. We took part in the French, Vietnamese, Indian, Yugoslav and Greek party congresses.

We provided information on the PZPR's situation, motives and intentions, and addressed five more PZPR Central Committee letters to all communist parties and to some socialist parties in capitalist and developing countries. We made an effort and will continue to make an effort to rebuild our relations with some communist parties in West European countries.

The Central Committee's International Commission discussed the international prerequisites for implementing the national socioeconomic plan, passing on its remarks and opinions to the team which prepared the 10th plenum. The commission also assessed the world situation against the background of the growing threat to peace, demanding that a propaganda and information activity be stepped up in the fight for peace and disarmament. The commission also indicated the need to inform the community and nations that the United States is chiefly responsible for the growth in tension in the world. At a joint session with the Central Committee's Ideological Commission, the program for instilling knowledge of the USSR and of Polish-Soviet relations in the minds of people was discussed.

All of the party's efforts on the international forum last year were an important part of implementing the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. By means of energetic party activity, we were largely successful in regaining our place among the socialist countries which had given us assistance, and on the international forum we were largely successful in obtaining support in opposing attempts to isolate our country and internationalize Polish affairs. Despite enormous pressure, the United States and some NATO countries did not succeed in prying Poland away from the community of socialist countries.

The Prague conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states confirmed the internationalist duty to render Poland comprehensive support and condemned the attempts at interference and the "sanctions" against Poland as contrary to the generally-accepted norms of international relations.

INTERVIEW WITH PRON CHAIRMAN DOBRACZYNSKI

LD131310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 13 Feb 83

[Interview with Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, by Mieczyslaw Maciejak on 10 February in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Excerpt] [Question] Mr Chairman, we talked in autumn last year. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] was being created. I remember that you were experiencing internal dilemmas. Not everyone knew what would arise from what began to germinate as early as December and January 1982. Now you lead a considerable movement: 9,500 PRON cells with 230,000 active Poles. This should fill you with pride.

[Answer] The pride is not for me, but for those Poles who have understood that PRON is a great cause which can extract us from the great depths in which we find ourselves. But, of course you are right. In less than 6 months a huge evolution has taken place. When I became the head of the provisional commission in September I was full of anxieties and full of fear that, simply, in the face of very great resistance, of difficulties caused both in Poland and outside, in view of the enormous irritation of the community, this idea of accord would not only fail to be understood, but even to be heard. I must say indeed that for the first 2-3 months, that is up until December, these difficulties accumulated. This depressed me and caused me moments of considerable wavering.

Since December the situation has changed. I think that in those first 3 months -- though they were tragic for me -- we somehow managed to win. They were months which ended well, with victory. We managed through the hullaballoo surrounding the PRON, through the sea of protest, laughter, jokes, and insulting words to tell the community what we want. The community has somehow started to approach us. You said that this is something which inspires pride.

Of course, it gives satisfaction; pride will come when out of 35 million we have 34.5 million members. At the moment we can, however, be satisfied with the 250,000 people who have begun to implement the idea of the PRON. This is already something.

SOLIDARITY'S BUJAK INTERVIEWED ON LATEST PROGRAM

PM151011 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 8 Feb 82 pp 3, 15

[Ricardo Estarriol Warsaw report containing interview with Polish Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak: "Democratization of Public Life Essential for Trade Union Action"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Warsaw [no date given] -- Solidarity recognizes the international treaties concluded by the Polish state, but has never acknowledged that Poland's international commitments oblige the country to "maintain a dictatorial regime," Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the dissolved Polish trade union's underground organization, stated yesterday in an interview which reached LA VANGUARDIA and the EFE and ANSA agencies simultaneously.

In the same interview, Bujak -- who adopts a critical tone in his opinions concerning Primate Glemp's conduct -- emphasizes that the democratization of public life is an essential condition for any trade union activity.

Zbigniew Bujak used to be chairman of Solidarity's powerful organization in the Masowsre (Warsaw) region and a national commission member. He is regarded as one of the most popular Polish trade union leaders after Walesa. Adam Michnik, the well-known historian and leader of the workers defense committee [as published] (a social democratic opposition group), who is currently detained, used to figure among Bujak's principal advisers. Bujak succeeded in escaping the initial 13 December 1981 roundup and has been underground ever since. This is Bujak's first lengthy interview since the proclamation of martial law.

[Question] Solidarity's KKP (Provisional Coordinating Commission) published 22 January the program "Solidarity Today," which envisages, among other things, the possibility of a general strike. Similar calls by the underground since the proclamation of martial law have failed. On what does the KKP now base its hope of success?

[Answer] A general strike is a strike in which most of the country's enterprises stop working until their demands are met. Since the proclamation of martial law in December 1981, strikes have been broken by force. Since then, there have been only occasional strikes. For that reason there can be no talk of failed strikes. Moreover, a general strike is not the principal element of our program. Rather, we regard it as an extreme measure in the event of certain conditions, such as a certain degree of organization and determination on the part of society, being fulfilled. Second, a list of demands which are clear and comprehensible for everybody must be drawn up. They should also be demands whose fulfillment creates conditions for the lasting coexistence of independent social organizations with a power (system) of limited sovereignty. And last, the right moment must be chosen, taking the international situation into account.

[Question] The Gdansk agreement and Solidarity's rules explicitly recognize Poland's international obligations. With respect to this point the "Solidarity Today" program is more vague. It speaks of "not upsetting the balance of forces in Europe" and says that the fact that Poland's alliances "involve a generally detested dictatorial regime" represents a "constant threat to peace in Europe." Why this change?

[Answer] The two formulas used in our program do not represent a change in the formulations contained in the Gdansk agreement and in the trade union rules. Our aim when drafting the "Solidarity Today" program was to point out the essential factor which determines the reforms. Various of Poland's commitments can be enumerated, but the most important is the commitment to preserve peace in Europe and maintain Poland's cooperation with its neighbors and the Eastern bloc countries' cooperation with the West. Poland's independent organizations have never accepted an interpretation of the international commitments as an obligation to introduce and maintain a dictatorial regime.

[Question] In the aforementioned program, the KKP has especially emphasized those resolutions of Solidarity's national congress which refer to the "self-governing republic." As you know, this issue not only has little bearing on what is commonly described as "trade union activity," but is also one of the points which caused most nervousness among Poland's allies (for instance: there would be nothing to prevent a self-governing parliament from deciding to disregard Poland's Warsaw Pact membership). Why do you insist on changing the Polish social model instead of concentrating your efforts on trade union issues in the strict sense?

[Answer] In the programs of all trade unions there are formulas which say that the trade union must struggle for a democratic system of government, because only under that kind of system can the trade union be really independent and free. When an independent trade union emerges within an undemocratic system, its activity shifts toward the struggle to democratize the system -- something which is necessary if the trade union wishes to preserve its independent nature.

To insist that the trade unions in our country should devote themselves to strictly trade union problems is demagogic; it is propaganda which has unfortunately convinced many trade unionists themselves and some observers. If we glance through the list of problems to whose resolution our trade union has devoted itself since its foundation, and if we observe the difficulties which it encountered, it is clear from this that an independent and self-managing trade union without radical transformations would be a fiction. Its activities would be confined virtually to supplying potatoes, apples, and carrots to its members in the enterprise cell. August 1980 was precisely a protest against this trade union model.

[Question] The government has recently mentioned through the medium of Professor Baka (ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 27 January 1983) the possibility of returning to the "central ordering and distribution" system, if the ratio between output and wages does not improve. This seems to foreshadow the winding up of the economic reform program which you have already described as a "mere change of facade." Do you believe that Solidarity's reactivation is an essential condition for being able to implement the economic reform?

[Answer] Since the first days of martial law we realized that the practical prospects for implementing a self-managing reform of the economic reform were nonexistent, and that sooner or later any attempt at reform would be bound to fail. It is possible that an attempt may be made to maintain a certain appearance of reform in order to negotiate new (Western) credits or secure the lifting of the economic restrictions. But we are not so self-centered as to make the economic reform dependent on Solidarity's reactivation. What must exist is an independent trade union movement.

Possible Concessions

[Question] The program speaks of the "limitations stemming from political reality." Does this mean that you would be prepared to make concessions? And if this is so, what concessions would you be prepared to make?

[Answer] Of course, I cannot say here specifically what concessions we might make, but I can state the guarantees which we demand for the existence of independent social organizations. One of the principal issues is the legal resolution of the right of association -- that is, for trade unions, professional and intellectual associations and so forth. Another important issue is the existence of a legal system with really independent courts, which will act as arbiters between the social organizations and state power. Another matter: the news media. Before 13 December we took a little step forward with the censorship law. But now it is important that the radio and television committee statute reflect social control. A reform of the people's councils (local administration bodies) at grassroots level is also necessary. And last, the Sejm (parliament). We will demand a reform enabling the independent social organizations to exert influence over parliament's decisions, or at least to have the right to put forward programs and viewpoints. The legislation legalizing martial law is antisocial, antinational, and antihuman, and demonstrates the degree of degeneration which can be reached when parliament escapes social control.

[Question] On several occasions, efforts to alleviate the repression have been observed in some sectors of the authorities. Do you have any hope that these sectors may come to succeed?

[Answer] Well, if we look at the biographies of the people holding power, it is easy to see how great liberals become what we call here "hard as cement." An instance is the communist party secretary in Katowice Voivodship, Zabinski, who pretended to be a liberal, only to later become a promoter of an almost parafascist organization (Bujak is referring here to the "Katowice Marxist-Leninist Forum" -- an organization of the extreme left of the communist party).

Of course, it would be very interesting if some day somebody emerged in the regime's camp capable of convincing people that his program was not solely an element in his personal struggle for power but a program dictated by the ideas and values which it contained.

Good Prospects

[Question] Do you believe that any of Solidarity's initial aims can be achieved by its former members via the new factory unions authorized and promoted by the government?

[Answer] Well, the authorities will allow some of the workers' problems, matters of little importance, to be settled. But Solidarity's fundamental objectives required such a profound change in the state's policy that none of them can now be attained via the existing unions -- none of them.

[Question] Living clandestinely in a police state cannot be easy. How long do you believe that this clandestine organization can survive?

[Answer] My opinion on this point has changed. At the start of martial law I forecast that it could last several months underground. Now I see good prospects for continuing for a long time yet. We have been training people for this task and, even if we fall some day, they will continue. There is now a succession procedure for the clandestine cells. This does not mean that our possible future arrest would not constitute a minor blow to the movement.

Criticisms of Glemp

[Question] The majority of KKP members and Solidarity advisers -- though the most important ones are still in jail -- are now free. Have you discussed your program "Solidarity Today" with these former representatives of the dissolved trade union?

[Answer] Ever since the proclamation of martial law we have maintained good contacts with the detainees and a little less good contact with those in prison, but we had information even from there; their opinions, plans and criticisms were conveyed to us. In other words, the influence of many people on the conception of the program that we have presented is very great.

[Question] What is your opinion of Lech Walesa's activity since his release?

[Answer] Lech Walesa's situation is very difficult, and it is apparent that his opportunities for action are very restricted. The action of the KKP and Lech Walesa are and will continue to be complementary. Lech's opportunities for action depend to a large extent on how the clandestine organization, the KKP, acts. Lech is a sufficiently intelligent and clever observer of political life to be able to take advantage of opportunities to act as they emerge.

[Question] What is your opinion of the Catholic hierarchy's stance?

[Answer] The church gives great material assistance to society. But I find it very difficult to understand the Polish primate's policy. I sometimes have the impression that the primate is treating the present dictatorship as a normal state government, whereas the regime is dictatorial and in my opinion must be combated. Though I do not expect the church to combat the dictatorship, I do expect it to give moral support to those who do so. And sometimes this support is lacking from the primate's statements.

JORDAN'S KING HUSAYN ARRIVES 17 FEBRUARY

AU171203 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1142 GMT on 17 February 1983 begins a live relay from Bucharest-Otopeni Airport on the arrival in Romania of Jordan's King Husayn. According to the announcer President Nicolae Ceausescu, "other party-state leaders," and many Bucharest inhabitants have come to the airport to welcome the Jordanian sovereign. An honor guard presents arms. The national anthems of the two countries are played. The two leaders are reportedly reviewing a military honor guard. The announcer says that the Jordanian guest is being introduced to Romanian officials and members of the diplomatic corps present at the airport. The live relay ends at 1156 GMT. No speeches are exchanged.

PRESS ON ROMANIAN SHARE IN BUDAPEST'S LIBERATION

AU141325 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 14 Feb 83

["38 Years Since the Liberation of Budapest" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/2/1983 — The recalling of the events occurred 39 years ago -- the celebration of a town to which we are linked not only through the feelings the Romanian people nurtures for the Hungarian people but also through the lives sacrificed in the name of freedom — is also an opportunity to highlight the evolution of the relations between the two friendly and neighbouring countries, the new quality the relations between Romania and Hungary acquired in the years of socialism, ROMANIA LIBERA writes in an article published in its February 14 issue about the fights for the liberation of Budapest from fascism.

Referring to the evolution of the Romanian-Hungarian relations another leading newspaper, SCINTEIA, writes in an article marking the same event: Benefiting from the juridical-political framework created by the first Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance of 1948, followed by the new treaty concluded in 1972, the Romanian-Hungarian relations have witnessed a favourable course. A decisive role in this favourable evolution was played by the relations of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, by the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Janos Kadar which gave fresh impulses to collaboration.

Remarkable progress was made by economic relations, the commercial exchanges registered substantial growths, the share of machines and equipment exceeding at present half of the mutual deliveries. The collaboration in science, technology, the arts and culture also developed, the exchanges of experience expanded to the end of a better knowledge and rapprochement between the two peoples.

The further development, in this spirit, of the Romanian-Hungarian relations of friendship and collaboration in various fields of activity is beneficial for both countries and peoples, for the general cause of socialism and peace, SCINTEIA notes.

The aforesaid newspapers refer at length to the heroic fights the Romanian soldiers waged alongside the Soviet Army to crush the Hitlerite and Horthy resistance. It is mentioned that 188,000 Romanian soldiers fought for the liberation of Budapest of whom 11,000 shed their blood for the town to be torn out from the claws of fascism. The Romanian Army participated with about 210,000 soldiers and officers in the battle for the liberation of Hungary, freeing 1,237 localities of which 14 towns.

Every 5th Romanian soldier was wounded or laid his life on the battlefield; 42,700 Romanian soldiers sacrificed their lives for the Hungarian people to be free.

REAGAN REAFFIRMS ZERO OPTION AT PRESS CONFERENCE

LD171101 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0948 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Washington, Feb 17 (TANJUG) -- U.S. President Ronald Reagan, at a press conference on Wednesday evening, stuck to his stance that a European nuclear arms agreement with the Soviet Union was possible only on the basis of the "zero option". The Reagan formula calls for the dismantling of all Soviet nuclear-warhead missiles in exchange for NATO abandoning the modernisation of its nuclear arsenal. Answering questions from the press, President Reagan again termed as unreasonable and, therefore unacceptable the Soviet proposal to reduce the number of Soviet missiles to 162, the same number as France and Britain together have, on condition NATO does not deploy new missiles.

MOJSOV INTERVIEWED ON UPCOMING NONALIGNED SUMMIT

LD161835 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMt 16 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG) -- The seventh non-aligned summit opens the possibility of reaffirming the role of non-alignment as a bridge in an interdependent world and in the present difficult situation, and contributing towards the international community directing its efforts to overcoming the existing crises by negotiation and by the strengthening of mutual communication.

This statement was made by Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov in an interview published by the fortnightly REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in its latest issue.

Mojsov said he considered the main task of the forthcoming summit to be to contribute -- while extending full support to the peoples' struggle for peace, independence and development -- towards halting the adverse trends in international relations. In his view, the priorities in this context are connected with a "relaxation of international tension which would not be limited solely to understandings between the big powers or coexistence of blocs." Among such priorities Mojsov mentioned cessation of the arms race and approach to a universal disarmament, as well as settlement of the biggest international economic problems, above all those concerning the pressing vital needs of developing countries as part of the process of building a new international economic order.

Maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security are closely connected with "elimination of the use of force and interventions in the Middle East, the situation in southern Africa, the growing military presence of big powers in the Indian Ocean region, the question of Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the Iraq-Iran war, and so on," points out Mojsov.

While taking fully into consideration the objective differences between them, non-aligned countries have successfully built their unity and solidarity upon their platform for over two decades now, through actions to achieve the common goals mentioned as priorities of the forthcoming summit, concluded Mojsov.

MIJATOVIC DEPARTS FOR 'FRIENDLY VISIT' TO LIBYA

LD161601 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG) -- On the invitation of leader of the great 1 September Revolution Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Cvijetin Mijatovic left here on Wednesday for a friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

During the visit Mijatovic will exchange views with the highest Libyan leaders on international topics, and especially on non-aligned countries' activities connected with the forthcoming non-aligned summit in New Delhi and further promotion of the already well-developed bilateral cooperation.

MOJSOV LEAVES FOR VISIT TO ITALY, VATICAN

LD171112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1045 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, left for Rome today on a 2-day official visit to the Italian Republic at the invitation of Emilio Colombo, Italian minister of foreign affairs. The visit is expected to represent a further confirmation of the effectiveness of the policy of good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation between the two countries. After completing his visit to Italy, Federal Secretary Lazar Mojsov will visit the Vatican, with which Yugoslavia maintains good relations and a dialogue on the basis of a 1966 protocol.

STAMBOLIC REPORTS ON INDONESIA, BURMA VISITS

LD161633 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- The SFRY Presidency held a session today, chaired by President Petar Stambolic. President Stambolic briefed the Presidency on the results of his official friendly visits to Indonesia and Burma. The results of the visits and the talks held during them were assessed as positive. At the session it was said that the traditional friendship that characterizes the relations between Yugoslavia and Indonesia and Burma was manifested during these meetings, as was the desire for further promotion of bilateral relations.

The Presidency assessed the talks held with President Suharto as important and very useful. The importance of extending economic cooperation and the possibility of its further promotion was pointed out in particular. The talks manifested the two countries' agreement for the nonaligned countries at the seventh conference in New Delhi to concentrate their forces on the solution of key questions: preservation and consolidation of peace, independence of peoples and countries, and solution of international economic problems, especially those concerning the developing countries.

The Presidency also assessed the talks with President of the Union of Burma U San Yu as very important and useful. It was noted that economic cooperation between the two countries was along a constantly ascending line and that advantage should be taken of the opportunities to extend it. The two countries' concern was expressed regarding the general deterioration of the international situation and intensified threats to world peace and security, as well as the need for intensified broad activity to surmounting this situation.

The session also approved the report on the impending official and friendly visit that Husayn, the king of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan, will pay Yugoslavia. Other questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the SFRY Presidency were discussed as well.

1 MAR ASSEMBLY: PRESIDENCY REPORTS, MEMBERSHIP

LD171147 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 17 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- Raif Dizdarevic,president of the SFRY Assembly, has convened both chambers of the SFRY Assembly for a joint session on 1 March. The report of the SFRY Presidency on sociopolitical development and realization of the policy of economic stabilization, and Yugoslavia's foreign policy and international position will be on the agenda.

The proclamation of the election of a member of the SFRY Presidency and announcement of the composition of the SFRY Presidency will also take place at the session. Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, is expected to submit an expose on socioeconomic development and realization of the policy of economic stabilization, and on the country's foreign policy and its international position at the 1 March session.

STAMBOLIC CHAIRS PRESIDENCY DEFENSE BODY SESSION

LD161535 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1132 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- A session of the SFRY Presidency National Defense Council took place in Belgrade yesterday. It was chaired by Petar Stambolic. The council discussed topical questions of the development of civil protection and guidelines for its further improvement and activity. Some other questions pertaining to the field of all-people's defense were discussed and the program of the council's work in 1983 was approved.

REPORT ON ASSEMBLY FEDERAL CHAMBER WORK 16 FEB

LD170018 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1016 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- The SRFY Assembly's Federal Chamber, with Dr Anton Vratusa in the chair, today adopted a detailed and ambitious work program for 1983, conclusions on the state of crime over the past 2 years and trends in this area, with particular reference to economic crime, as well as a series of new legal provisions and acts.

Awareness and responsibility for preserving and protecting social property are still insufficently strong and it is erroneously believed that this protection is a task of state organs and organs of control, prosecution, and justice. For this reason, Rajko Jecmenica (Serbia) stressed when opening the debate on this subject, the greatest number of criminal acts are discovered by state organs, while the participation of working people and citizens in their discovery is negligible. This reflects our tolerance of illegal conduct and the spreading of bourgeois ideology, which is manifested in insufficiently organized and inefficient struggle against illegal conduct. Dusan Pekic (Croatia) warned that passivity of some responsible factors toward crime encourages those who break the law in a big way.

We have to say plainly that what we have is not crime but robbery, which in its essence is directed toward destroying the heritage of our revolution, Zarije Martinovic (Serbia) stressed. This is not a question of simple robberies by individuals but of an elaborate system aimed at compromising self-management. Advocating much stricter punishment, he stressed that it is untenable that someone should steal 100 billion and get 3 years in prison.

Stating that criminal acts and other illegal conduct harmful to social property has reached worrisome proportions, the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly concluded that special social involvement is needed to curb criminal, illegal, and immoral conduct. The chamber calls on all self-management organs and on the authorities to become even more involved in the struggle to protect social property and against its privatization and overspending.

Conclusions adopted by the Federal Chamber stress the special role of social self-protection in the process of constantly strengthening lawfulness, work discipline, and responsibility of self-management organs and efficiency of self-management workers' controls, inspections and control-supervisory organs and services.

Today's session also adopted a law on conditions for and proclamation of national mourning. According to the new law, national mourning is declared by the Federal Executive Council and its duration will be 1 day in certain cases specified by the law.

Lt Col Gen Slavko Djurdjevic informed the delegates about the application of the law on military schools and scientific and research institutions on the Yugoslav People's Army. General Djurdjevic stressed that the law on military schools and scientific institutions in the Yugoslav People's Army has taken schools into a new and more advanced stage of development. They are now much more open toward all citizens' structures and the schooling of members of foreign armed forces is also possible. Interest among the young in attending military schools is decreasing in all the republics and provinces. The student enrollment is satisfactory, however.

On the basis of a proposal by the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Chamber this evening appointed Milosav Stijovic as judge of the Constitutional Court. The chamber also appointed members of the Council of the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center.

'DOGMA' HAMPERS SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

AU161302 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Feb 83 p 1

[S. Vukmirovic report]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 11 Feb -- One of our dogmatic rules of behavior -- although we have declared ourselves against it for more than 30 years and then clearly incorporated that position in the Constitution and the Associated Labor Law -- is seriously disturbing and impoverishing our economic development on the whole. The dogma which results in this attitude of ours is the following: By its nature, the private sector constantly produces capitalist relations which endanger socialism.

This assessment is part of the materials prepared for and was also woven into many speeches at today's session of the Federal Social Council's Commission for the Problems of Economic Stabilization at which the report "the Status and Development of Small Business" was discussed. The session was chaired by Sergej Kraigher, after whose name the commission is briefly and popularly called.

Because of tne strong and persistant fear that the private sector may puch us toward restoring the oid socioeconomic relations, the inclusion of "private" people in the field of so-called small business is proceeding too slowly. The need to change these forms of behavior was especially noted in the introductory report of Kiro Gligorov, as well as in the speeches of Milutin Baltic, Vojo Srzentic and other members of the commission.

This is not easy since the resistance is not over. It is sometimes expressed through incomprehensible complications of administrative procedures one has to pass to open even the smallest private handicraft workshop and afterwards even more through the harsh tax policy. The absurd situation which can be reached by the latter was best illustrated by Dusan Alimpic's statement that there is probably no private craftsman who is exempt from tax to the same extent as those who operate with social resources.

However, not only the private sector is hampered in its efforts to develop small business. The same fate is shared by the social sector: The prevailing logic is that every handicraft workshop should be developed into a "whole industry" and when this, naturally, proves to be impossible, artifical integrations and expansions are promoted. Of course, this not only fails to improve the plant's position on the market, it most often worsens it.

It was stressed at today's session that it is high time we decidedly turned to the development of both private and social sector in this section of the economy.

LCY PRESIDIUM CONCLUSIONS ON SUPPLIES REPORTED

LD162044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- On 8 February 1983 the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the topical problems of supplies for the population of consumer goods in short supply and adopted the following conclusions:

1. The Presidium made the assessment that problems associated with the supplies for the population, particularly with some basic consumer goods products, were being aggravated even more at the beginning of this year. The irregular and inadequate supplies situation in specific municipalities and cities also occurs in the case of the products which we manufacture in sufficient quantities or can manufacture in our country, even where we do not depend on imports. Elements of uncontrolled developments, uncertainty, and lack of discipline have been manifested on the market, with major economic, social, and political consequences.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium stresses that in addition to objective difficulties, caused mainly by the balance-of-payments situation in the country and by the imbalance in our commodity-monetary relations, there are many subjective shortcomings in the area of supply. The degree of social organization to solve these problems is not up to the level required by the gravity and seriousness of the situation. It is thus the commitment of all the Communists and League of Communists organizations along the line of the conclusions of the third and fourth sessions of the LCY Central Committee to prevent manifestations and conducts responsible for the fact that many self-management organizations and communities and organs of social political communities inefficiently discharge their commitments arising out of social agreements and self-management accords are not respected.

Often the regulations in commodity trade and in the trade involving services are circumvented. Enormous stocks of products in short supply are created in manufacturing as well as in trade organizations to bring pressure to bear for price increases. Blackmail impositions of conditions to clinch a sale, encapsulation of the market, and other manifestations and conducts are present which are at odds with agreed policy and with our self-management system. Solutions are still sought inadequately in [words indistinct].

2. In stressing the [words indistinct] of the organs and organizations in the federation, the republics, the provinces and the municipalities, the Presidium points out that they are not adequate, and that additional measures must be taken at all levels -- in organizations of associated labor, local communities, municipalities, in the organs of the republics, provinces and of the federation so that the basic consumer goods market can be stabilized as soon as possible through coordinated action. In this context all the measures also have to be taken to supply the tourist industry with the necessary consumer goods articles. If the existing shortcomings are not eliminated quickly there could be very unfavorable consequences for the tourist industry and for implementation of other economic policy tasks this year.

3. The Presidium believes that, proceeding from the conclusions of the third and fourth session of the LCY Central Committee, responsibility of all social factors should be intensified for a faster and more efficient solution of the problems of supplies and for establishment of the condition whereby the workers decide on all the questions -- even bank guarantees, production credits, prices and others -- in keeping with their interests, rights, and responsibilities.

Because of the exceptional political sensitivity and economic significance of these problems their solution must have a priority at the present time.

Communists in appropriate organs of sociopolitical communities in organizations of associated labor, banks and other self-management organizations and communities should make efforts on introducing specific operative programs which would clearly establish what should be done, by whom, and until when, in order that conditions might be created in the shortest possible time for normalizing supplies of products vitally important for consumers. This applies particularly to Communists in executive organs of municipalities towns and all other sociopolitical communities.

4. The Presidium stresses particularly the significance of a consistent implementation of conclusions reached by the Chamber of the Republic and provinces [words indistinct] on supplies, and also of the social agreement on securing and using foreign currency for [words indistinct] of certain products or raw materials for their production in 1983. The Presidium also stresses the importance of other measures affecting supplies. Signatories of (?social) and self-management agreements and all others to whom they refer have to bear full social and political responsibility for the implementation of agreed obligations. The Presidium believes it to be necessary for appropriate organs to inform the public about (?who these subjects are), the republics and provinces, and which obligations are not being realized.

The Presidium particularly stressed the need for a more efficient and coordinated activity of Communists in self-management organs, delegations, appropriate municipal organs, [words indistinct] and federal administrative organs on these matters. It is necessary to display much more determination and speed in harmonizing solutions and creating conditions for solving problems of supplies (?on) a self-management basis and in keeping with interests, rights and responsibilities of working people in associated labor and delegate system.

5. The Presidium stresses that in connection with normalizing supplies to the market the basic task of Communists and other factors at this moment should be a speedier increase in production of those products which can be made in the country and an increase in exports, particularly to convertible markets, with the view to securing foreign currency for imports of products in short supply. This should be the main direction of social action aimed at solving problems affecting supplies of necessary articles to the market and not the introduction of coupons. In all this there should be no deviating from the implementation of policy of firm self-reliance, which the LCY adopted at the third and fourth sessions of the LCY Central Committee and which is contained in the resolution on economic policy for this year.

Communists are under an obligation to become directly involved in solving problems of supplies on a self-management basis [words indistinct]. Communists have special obligations and tasks in economic chambers, [words indistinct] and other economic self-management associations. [passage indistinct] They should inform assemblies and particularly Councils of Associated Labor about their findings and possible pressures, because this is a way for more efficiently getting rid of monopolies supported by executive organs and political structures. Protagonists of such phenomena should receive severe moral and legal sanctions.

7. The Presidium believes that in the central and provincial committees, as well as at all other levels, discussions should be held as soon as possible to examine the situation and activity on solving problems of supplies to the population of the essential consumer goods, and to determine specific operative tasks of Communists and all other factors in this sphere.

MIKULIC ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES

LD162301 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Sarajeva, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- Branko Mikulic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina, appeared on Sarajevo television last night as guest of the "Dialogues" feature, and in a conversation with television director Sveta Maslesa he replied to a number of questions on our socioeconomic and political situation. During the program Branko Mikulic also replied to several questions put directly by viewers and working people from our collectives.

Several viewers wanted to know whether the Federal Executive Council's measures were complete enough. Mikulic replied that it is impossible to reject all the criticism of the adopted measures. However, he added that the weakest solution would have been [word indistinct] as regards these measures, because that would lead us into an even more difficult situation. So I believe that we must implement what we have adopted and that we all should accept the responsibility for working together on preparing measures which, in our view, will be even better and for implementing those once we have adopted them. Until that time the measures which have been adopted and which are in force must be carried out. If the opposite happened we would experience serious difficulties.

The president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina then replied to several questions concerning export, better utilization of export capacities, employment, medium-term plan corrections, use of the water resources of the Drina River Basin, coupons, and other topical questions of our everyday life.

Replying to several questions concerning negative and antisocialist phenomena, Mikulic noted that it is true that the number of nationalist excesses is rising. I believe, he said, that nationalists and other anticommunist groups have judged that following the death of Tito and Kardelj and in the complex conditions of our economic situation and the very complex international situation, the time was ripe for them to act along the line of destabilization of Yugoslavia and overthrow of the constitutional order.

We rightly judged that activity based on these positions would escalate. However, we did not formulate the appropriate attitudes for our ideological and political action, nor did we organize any activity with which to suppress this escalation. I have the feeling that we hesitated, that we were afraid that more resolute ideological and political action on our part would restrict democratic freedoms. In fact, it has already been shown that we thus exposed ourselves to the danger of a real threat to all human freedoms, including national freedom. To what else can the activity lead along the line of undermining the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities, the attempts to call in question the federal system, our social policy, self-managing system and all else, if it does not lead to threat to all human freedoms?

We must without wavering wage a resolute and organized struggle with these trends. If we do not do so, Mikulic warned, it is possible that some of our people, especially the young, will fall under the influence of nationalist and other anticommunist elements. In some environments this has already partly happened. How else are we to explain why, for instance, individuals, young people -- fortunately their numbers are not great -- verbally express themselves from nationalist positions, take part in the desecration of graves, sing songs about such war criminals as Boban, Francetic, Pavelic, Mihajlovic, Dranovic, Drangic, and others, whose crimes they fortunately did not experience? If they knew what crimes these were, it is sure that they would not have succumbed to these influences, but would oppose them.

We Communists, Mikulic continued, cannot dissociate ourselves from responsibility for the ensuing consequences if we do not oppose the nationalist elements' attempts to spread such ideology and manipulate the people, especially the young. Further, we did not suppress those tendencies in social and material processes which can reproduce nationalism. By this I mean the tendencies to strengthen statism, the power of techno-bureaucracy, and other anti-self-management tendencies and practices.

Asked if more resolute measures will be taken to incapacitate nationalists, Mikulic replied: When we talk about written things whose message aims to foment national-chauvinism and instigate fratricide, that is what we should be talking about, because the writers of these texts were not interested in literary-aesthetic form and content. They were motivated by the realization of definite political aims. Therefore we should talk about the writers. Let literary critics consider the literary-aesthetic value of such books. I am convinced that the methods of the so-called objectivist approach cannot be used to put nationalist pamphlets and books which expose the intentions and methods of work of the nationalists into the same basket. But of course that is for literary critics to decide. When I speak about this, it is from the view of a politician to whom that kind of approach is alien. These questions are already under consideration in all the organs of the LCY. We have recently seen the comrades from Serbia carry out a very good debate at the session of their Central Committee. This will also be discussed at a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina. We have discussed these questions with several comrades from other republics. Comrades from the Croatian leadership will also come here, to Sarajevo, and we will discuss these questions with them, too.

I agree, Mikulic added, that the publishers of these books also bear the responsibility for their publication. I am convinced that social funds cannot be used to finance the publication of books with reactionary political messages. Furthermore, I believe that we must, as Comrade Cvijetin Mijatovic said a short time ago, launch an ideological and political offensive -- that is, tell the people and especially the young the real truth about what is being aimed at. We will give priority to unmasking the reactionary essence of the ideology and intentions of the nationalist and other anticommunists, and if they violate the law and thus cause grave political damage, we in Bosnia and Hercegovina will not hesitate to apply the law.

Asked if these nationalist phenomena are reminiscent of similar events in the sixties and seventies, Mikulic replied that this is in essence the matter of a class conflict and that the national-chauvinists had the same intentions, the same goals. However, in this period there are some differences as compared with those years. For instance, Mikulic stressed, I have the impression that there are more articles and even books with nationalist contents, and that the reactionary clergy is trying to politicize the church and turn it into a center in which not only the nationalists but other anti-communist elements will rally. To this end they act in favor of the formation of organizations of believers on the pattern of those which existed between the two wars and immediately after the war, in which the Ustashe, the supporters of Ljotic and the Krizari [crusaders, anticommunist insurgents in Croatia after World War II] the Young Muslims [Mlado-Muslimani].

Further, in their activity the nationalists from the ranks of the Serbian and Croatian peoples in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in addition to its constant feature, which remains unchanged and which is the denial of the national identity of the Muslims -- something they did in the past and are also doing now -- this time they have also developed special methods of inciting chauvinism against the Muslim people and waging an unscrupulous campaign against political cadres, Communists, Marxists and other progressive Muslim intellectuals.

In the struggle against these attempts and trends we Communists from the ranks of the Serbian and Croatian peoples in Bosnia and Hercegovina have the greatest obligations. First of all we must prevent their intentions. That will also make it easier for Muslim Communists to struggle against nationalism in their own nation, which is escalating. Obviously, this is not to say that there should be a division so that everyone must wage a struggle against nationalism in his nation alone. What I am saying is the old truth that we will most contribute to the struggle against nationalism if we wage it, primarily, in the ranks of our own nation.

MOJSOV, SLOVENES DISCUSS NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

LD162330 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- Lazar Mojsov, federal secretary for foreign affairs, talked in Ljubljana today with the political leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on topical questions of international relations. Particular attention was paid during the talks to relations between the SFRY and neighboring countries.

SERBIAN LC PRESIDIUM VIEWS PRODUCTION TASKS

LD121022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 11 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Feb (TANJUG) -- It is worth noting that most Organizations of Associated Labor have shown they can master in a relatively short time the big changes represented by the measures in the field of foreign exchange and imports and that they are capable under certain conditions of achieving considerably increased production.

This was stated today at the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia during an examination of the basic characteristics of the economic trends in the Socialist Republic of Serbia at the beginning of 1983 and the tasks of the League of Communists in this field. Emphasizing revival of production as a key task, the Presidium especially pointed out the obligation of the Communists to encourage processes of self-managing integration by their ideopolitical activity. LCY policy is clear in this respect; there is nothing more to wait for, because it is necessary for the processes of linking and associating to come as much to the fore as possible.

In keeping with this, the Presidium emphasized obligations and responsibilities of the Executive Council, Chamber of Economy, Cooperative Federation, banks and other subjects of economic life to promote by practical activity the linking into reproduction entities. It cannot be permitted for an Organization of Associated Labor to import raw materials or parts which are produced in our country, while at the same time producers of these raw materials and parts submit to the community a bill for losses because, among other things, they do not sufficiently exploit their capacities and are exporting in an uneconomical manner. Pointing out difficulties caused by the shortage of raw materials and reproduction material, the Presidium stated that a more substantial improvement cannot be expected in the first quarter of the year. The checking of unfavorable trends in production therefore demands still greater mobility of all subjects of economic operations, maximum use of internal reserves and cadre and technical potential, and greater responsibility for the attitude towards work, self-management, and use of social resources.

The Presidium noted that export possibilities of the Serbian economy are greater than shown by results. All conditions exist in the structural and technical-material respect to increase exports. The struggle for more intensive inclusion in the international division of labor and increased exports represents the priority task of Communists, self-managing and management organs, and other subjective forces. This is a long-term orientation in the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization.

The Presidium also noted that in a certain sense the investment front is becoming narrower, but that the investment mania has not yet been overcome. This requires the League of Communists to intensify its activity to bring about a radical change. Considering that the tendency towards a fall in real personal incomes will continue this year, the widest possible social acitivity is necessary to promote the system of distribution, especially to overcome the leveling off of incomes and adequately to value production and creative work. It is also necessary to elaborate an adequate social policy which will protect the living standards of workers with low incomes, large families, and the unemployed.

The chronic shortage of certain consumer goods has had a negative effect on the mood of the working people and citizens, it was said at the meeting, and greater effort must be made to solve these problems.

Pointing out several other elements which are characteristic of the economic trends at the beginning of this year, the Presidium noted that there are plenty of descriptions of the situation which are well known to all. It is necessary to elaborate programs of action and activity in every field and think in advance about the problems which may arise, so that the Communists and other subjective forces can face them prepared and organized for sensible action.

DOLANC ATTENDS TALKS WITH VOJVODINA OFFICIALS

LD162240 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 16 Feb 83

[Text] Novi Sad, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- Danilo Kekic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, today receives Stane Dolanc, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs. Also taking part in the talks were Zivan Marelj, president of the Vojvodina Executive Council; Djordje Radosavljevic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina; Svetomir Lalovic, republican secretary for internal affairs of Serbia; and Petar Palkovljevic, secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.